



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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U.S. Conducts Nuclear Test at Nevada Site
*LD1310210888 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT
13 Oct 88*

[Text] New York October 13 TASS—The United States conducted a regular test of nuclear device at the Nevada test range.

A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Energy said the detonation codenamed Dalhart became this year's eleventh officially announced test. The nuclear device with a yield of up to 150 kilotons was detonated at a depth of approximately 700 metres.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency points out that the detonation was so strong that it caused earth tremor at a distance of more than 130 km from the test site.

Observer Calls for Underground Test Ban
*PM1310115388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5*

[PRAVDA political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint": "Finishing What We've Started"]

[Text] Looking at some newspapers from 25 years ago, I got a mental picture of how things looked at that time. New York, the square in front of the UN Headquarters building. People filing up and down the "plaza" set aside for demonstrations. The banners carried by the demonstrators proclaimed "'No' to Radioactive Rain!" and "Ban Nuclear Tests!"

At that time the world was going through a period of great social disquiet. Series of nuclear weapons test explosions in the atmosphere had brought radioactive fallout to the earth. Newspapers wrote about this a great deal, and profound concern was increasing. A marked change took place in the public's understanding of the nuclear threat. People's immediate demand was that nuclear tests that jeopardized the health of millions of people be stopped. But behind them was the greater awareness—particularly after the Caribbean missile crisis—of the indisputable fact of our age: that nuclear war threatens all mankind with destruction.

The voice of the peoples with its immediate demand of the day was heard. The Moscow treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the three spheres (in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater) was concluded and entered into force on 10 October 1963. On that day three powers—the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States—were the first to sign this document, authenticate it, and hand over ratification documents for safe-keeping. The treaty was an important landmark in the struggle between the forces of reason and the forces of militarism and a victory for the course of peaceful coexistence.

Since then 25 years have passed. In retrospect one can see the lasting significance of the Moscow treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the three spheres. This important international agreement is the origin of the now-active movement trying to pull mankind away from the nuclear abyss—a difficult, contradictory process moving in fits and starts but, fortunately, one that is increasingly gathering pace. Today we often talk about the new political thinking. But the contemporary vision of the world that takes the realities of our age into consideration did not arise out of nothing. Mankind has suffered and endured to reach it. The Moscow treaty was one of the forerunners of the new approach to the problem of ensuring the peoples' peace and security—an approach based on consideration for mutual interests rather than on an unrestrained buildup of "military muscle" in the hope of surpassing one's rival. An approach that acknowledges the interdependence of our motley, contradictory world.

So 25 years is a huge chunk of life for a man. But it is a short span in history. Despite missed opportunities, mankind has grown considerably over these years and has begun to get a more sober and realistic view of itself and the world. Mankind may quite justifiably count to its credit the series of international measures aimed at curbing the arms race that followed the Moscow treaty with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the ABM Treaty, and the SALT II Treaty.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which laid the foundation for real nuclear arms reductions and a more reasonable and secure world, was a qualitatively new step and a real breakthrough on this path. These successes have been achieved through the undying struggle waged by millions of people for peace and for mankind's very existence.

Now that we are celebrating the Moscow treaty's "silver jubilee," I would like to say the following: The time has come to finish what we started 25 years ago with a logical natural step—a ban on nuclear weapons tests in the sphere where they are still continuing—underground. The speediest conclusion of a treaty completely and universally banning these tests would be the worthy apogee of what we began 25 years ago and would substantially speed up the process of real nuclear disarmament that has now begun.

General Batenin on Conventional Arms Cuts
*PM1110152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Article by Major General G. Batenin: "European Disarmament: Ideas, Plans, and Prospects"]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference held recently in the Polish capital was a major event in international life. The document adopted at it has attracted close attention from the NATO

military-political leadership and Western public circles. They do not agree about everything in their assessment of the Warsaw Pact states' statement on armed forces and conventional arms cuts in Europe, but the recognition of it as a new and very important step toward the West's position on European disarmament and security is an obvious fact.

The Warsaw Pact states have essentially proposed a modernized version of the concept of substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals originally put forward at Political Consultative Committee conferences in Budapest (1986) and Berlin (1987).

What is the essence of the modernization of this concept? Above all, the fact that it proposes viewing European disarmament as a dynamically developing process arbitrarily divided into sections of time and space, each of which presupposes the achievement of a definite and prearranged aim—coordinated between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, naturally. In this sense the stages of the European disarmament processes in the sphere of conventional systems (the Warsaw statement proposes three stages) are definitely independent of each other both in terms of their ability to achieve the targets set, and in terms of their time and space parameters (the geographic regions of Europe where the cuts will take place, timetables, and rates).

In the first stage, for instance, it is planned to eliminate the asymmetries existing in the European theater in terms of certain types of Warsaw Pact and NATO weapons.

Unfortunately, the opponents of a balanced approach to European disarmament, instead of professionally defining who has how many more of which weapons, have embarked on the road of whipping up the myth of the Soviet and Warsaw Pact "overarmament" as a whole, expressing this assessment not so much in absolute terms as in comparable equivalents of combat potential. This has given rise to clearly ill-conceived Western demands, in no way reflecting the essence of the issue, for the unilateral elimination of the so-called "overwhelming Russian advantage" in virtually all types of conventional arms and forces deployed in Europe. It was in this vein that the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states took the enterprising step of giving priority to solving the problem of asymmetries.

Making to all intents and purposes a high assessment of this move, the West immediately attempted to exploit it for its own gain—to the detriment of the future, far-reaching possibilities of strengthening the stability of military equilibrium in Europe offered by the modernized plan for substantial armed forces and conventional arms cuts from the Atlantic to the Urals proposed by the Warsaw Pact. Without putting forward their own official concept for European disarmament, the upper echelons of the NATO leadership have been making statements to

the effect that the West, in their opinion, should continue to be "skeptical" about the new Soviet arms control proposals unless the USSR makes considerable cuts in its own military power.

Even more extreme positions in this "skepticism" are taken up by L. Ruehl, secretary of state at the FRG Defense Ministry, who entirely rejects a balanced approach to reducing levels of military confrontation in Europe, claiming that under the conditions of the "geographical asymmetry" between East and West in favor of the former (according to him, East Europe has all of Eurasia "behind it," while West Europe's rear is "washed" by the Atlantic) NATO is entitled to demand deep cuts from the Warsaw Pact in all parameters of defense potential, leaving its own military power untouched both quantitatively and qualitatively (structurally).

No military specialist is likely to deny the existence of such asymmetry. However, it should nonetheless be viewed and taken into account in a different way, more competently. First and foremost, through reciprocal examination of the problem of geostrategic stability and in a range of balanced measures for disarmament and the limitation of military activity in the land sphere—that is, the European Continent and the Atlantic waters surrounding the continent. Including airspace over these areas too, obviously.

The Warsaw Pact is not refusing to take part in such a conversation. Military power and the potential threat objectively arising from an overabundance of military power should be considered as a comprehensive whole: on land, at sea, and in the air. Clearly, it is no accident that U.S. military planning contains the concept of the "integrated battlefield." But how are we to assess the notorious "follow-on forces attack" doctrine in the context of the desire of certain NATO circles to maintain the "status quo" in respect to their forward-based strike forces and systems at airfields and aboard carriers? The threat to the Warsaw Pact's flanks from NATO is qualitatively changing with the appearance of sea- and air-launched cruise missiles in U.S. weapons arsenals: A new asymmetry is appearing which should be "cut" in the process of European disarmament.

Another new aspect in the approach of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states to European disarmament in the conventional weapons sphere is the fact that in the process of eliminating asymmetries it is planned to reach far lower levels of armed forces and arms than those which would be achieved merely by removing current imbalances either quantitatively or qualitatively. I will explain this by using an example drawn, incidentally, from West German experts' quite well argued work "Security for Europe."

In order to eliminate the "tank asymmetry," the following scheme for reducing Warsaw Pact and NATO tank numbers over a 10-year period is proposed:

Year	Tanks	
	Warsaw Pact	NATO
1990	52,000	22,000
1994	31,000	16,000
1998	15,250	11,500
2000	10,000	10,000

It should be said that the initial tank balance here is somewhat distorted. According to Soviet assessments, the asymmetry amounts to 20,000 tanks. After all, NATO currently has over 30,000 tanks. However, the principle of eliminating the imbalance in these offensive weapons has, in our view, been correctly chosen. All the more so as this is backed by a very detailed elaboration of the questions of achieving military-strategic stability in Europe by reforming the Warsaw Pact and NATO military structures with regard to making them defensive and excluding from them components which would pose an offensive threat to the other side in military-technical and operational-strategic respects.

Similar measures must be carried out in eliminating the imbalance in Europe in terms of tactical (frontline) strike aircraft and military helicopters. According to Soviet assessments, which coincide with a number of Western sources, the correlation of forces in this sphere is currently 1 to 1.5 in NATO's favor. The aforementioned West German experts' work proposes not only that this asymmetry be eradicated, but that a ceiling be established for strike aircraft and combat helicopters of 500 units each (totaling 1,000 units of frontline strike aircraft) for each side.

The starting point for the central part of the European disarmament concept adopted in Warsaw—defined as the second stage, at which the "armed forces of each of the sides would be cut by approximately 25 percent (by roughly 500,000 men) together with their standard-issue weapons"—is also being interpreted in a new way. The crux of the question of such large cuts has always been the following: What should be the starting point for these equal-percentage reductions in troops and armaments? Lack of certainty about calculating their combat potential and dubious verification measures are the barriers which, along with a lack of political will, have prevented the participants in the Vienna talks on central Europe from reaching a constructive solution to the problem of restricting the concentration of land and air forces in this region.

In order to prevent a repetition of the mistakes of the past, the Warsaw Pact countries are proposing that they and the NATO countries start forthwith kwto exchange all data of interest to them pertaining to the quantitative and—insofar as is necessary—qualitative makeup of their armed forces and conventional arms on the European Continent. They are also proposing that they satisfy themselves about the accuracy of such officially transferred figures through reciprocal on-site inspection at the very outset of talks.

Clearly, such procedures could be taken further, particularly before the start of the second stage of reciprocal and balanced reductions in forces and armaments. During the first stage, following the eradication of existing imbalances—particularly in tank and strike air power—the sides should reach considerably lower levels than at present in terms of numbers of men and armaments. Approximately what levels?

If we take as our base, figures that have repeatedly been used both in the West and the East, the combined strength of all Warsaw Pact and NATO categories of troops and forces from the Atlantic to the Urals is currently on the order of 7.2 to 7.5 million. Consequently, in order for the overall reduction of this total by 1 million (500,000 for each side) to amount to 25 percent, it will be necessary during the first stage to reach levels for ground and air forces that do not exceed 2 million men for both military groupings.

The range of measures of a geostrategic nature—which it is planned to implement both during the first two stages and, particularly, the third stage—are elements of fundamental importance in the Warsaw platform. During this stage the continuation of the process of mutually verifiable and balanced "physical" cuts in armed forces and armaments will be linked more and more closely with the resolution of the task of making both sides' armed forces strictly defensive in nature. Obviously, this task is aimed at initially reducing and subsequently eradicating the threat of a surprise attack. While such a threat exists, it is hard to discuss European stability, much less in crisis situations.

What are these measures? First, the creation along the border between the two military-political alliances of areas (zones) with a reduced level of arms. Several options are possible here. For instance, the absolute demilitarization of the zones, whereby any military activity in them is ruled out and and military infrastructures are either wholly or quite extensively dismantled (along the lines of nuclear-free corridors). Relative demilitarization: either through cuts or through the withdrawal from the zones of the most destabilizing types of conventional arms. These, in the opinion of many military specialists, include tactical strike aircraft, tactical missiles, combat helicopters, tanks, and long-range artillery (100-mm caliber and above).

If we are talking about strategic stability, which logically should increase with disarmament, it should be objectively assessed in some way. What if one side suddenly comes to the conclusion—imagined or real—that stability has been violated? That is a serious matter, since—to resort to the language of physics and mathematics—the conformal representation of such a deduction would be the conclusion, again rightly or wrongly, that our disarmament system had been "punctured," that security had been violated, and that the likelihood of an armed conflict had increased. The most terrible thing would be

if there were an "unfavorable" increase in the assessment of the likelihood of such a conflict, whereby this assessment would be linked to the threat of a surprise attack.

The argument cited above is neither abstract nor fortuitous. Here is an example prompted by the speculative conclusion of General Galvin, currently NATO supreme allied commander, Europe, that the threat of a surprise attack would allegedly even increase if military confrontation were reduced. The argument accompanying this conclusion—which goes against common sense, to put it mildly—is that a lower concentration of forces would be required, which reduces the time needed for preparations and makes it easier for the plans for such an attack to be concealed.

It is not ruled out that this approach could formally convince some people. But in fact everything is different, since two military structures mutually balanced in terms of their defensive (rather than offensive) capabilities and split along an almost 900-km front of direct confrontation in central Europe are in general hardly likely to have an opportunity to even secretly concentrate somewhere a strike grouping capable of conducting an offensive operation. And if one bears in mind the fact that the lower level of military confrontation will be reinforced by more extensive and penetrating confidence-building measures than at present, in terms of all kinds of military activity (maneuvers, troop transfers, and troop concentrations), such a capability might not appear at all.

Let us turn to yet another initiative put forward at Warsaw. Addressing the Sejm, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, proposed the creation of a European war risk reduction center. Such a center's functions could increase as progress is achieved in implementing the tasks of disarmament and stability being resolved within the framework of the CSCE. However, from the outset such a center could be set up in such a way as to fulfill the function of an organ—

independent of propaganda influence or short-lived semiofficial organs on either side—able to really evaluate the military-strategic situation prevailing in and around Europe as a result of Warsaw Pact and NATO military activity. The center's main task would be to provide timely and objective information about the situation, particularly in regions covering possible operational sectors in the so-called European theater, as well as on its flanks. The main aim of this work would be to prevent factors that would increase the threat of a surprise attack and to ease tension arising for any reason in the sphere of East-West military-political relations.

Ideally the center could act as coordinator in implementing all the military-political decisions that have already been made and may subsequently be made within the framework of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe ("Stockholm 1 and 2").

The prospect of creating Europe's first-ever supranational organ does have a precedent, albeit one limited to the scale of strategic mutual relations between two nuclear states—the USSR and the United States. These are the Soviet and U.S. National Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers created on the basis of the September 1987 Soviet-U.S. agreement. Their collaboration is made technically possible by the multichannel—including facsimile—Moscow-Washington trans-Atlantic "hotline," which has been working reliably now for 25 years, since 1963.

Those are the main outlines of the Warsaw Pact's Warsaw concept for strengthening military-strategic stability in Europe along the road of considerable armed forces and conventional arms cuts. This concept, which subsumes the positive experience of the past 3 years of active development of European dialogue on security and disarmament problems and the Soviet-U.S. experience of reaching major decisions in the nuclear disarmament sphere, is also open to other innovative and constructive ideas which might be proposed by both East and West.

Gerasimov Holds 13 Oct Foreign Ministry Briefing

Explains Ligachev Absence

LD1310142888 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, asked at today's briefing about Yegor Ligachev's absence from a meeting on agricultural issues at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, replied that Ligachev was on leave.

The correspondent who asked the question wanted to know whether Ligachev had known about the meeting at the Central Committee and how long his leave would be.

"When the leave expires, I simply don't know," replied Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

"But that does not mean that when Comrade Ligachev is on leave, we should not handle agricultural issues."

Comments on Vranitzky Visit

LD1410022588 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 13 Oct (TASS)—"Today saw the end of the official visit to the Soviet Union of Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Austrian Republic. We are pleased with the results of the talks during which both sides gave a high assessment of the state of relations between our countries", said Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Speaking at a briefing here today, he noted that during the talks, stress had been placed on the importance of further developing constructive, mutually advantageous cooperation between USSR and Austria and of deepening and enriching it with new forms adjusting to the demands of the times.

In a discussion of international problems, continued the USSR Foreign Ministry representative, the sides were unanimous that the integration processes going on in Europe should not create new demarcation lines. "On the Soviet side," said he, "the hope was expressed that with the determination of ways of settling relations between Austria and the European Economic Community, the Austrian Republic will act in accordance with its obligations under the 1955 State Treaty, taking into account its neutral status. The federal chancellor stressed that permanent neutrality is Austria's absolute foreign policy priority."

Notes Shultz Speech

LD1310164988 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—"Attention has been paid in Moscow to the speech made in San Francisco recently by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the question of prospects for the development of the world economy", Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

In that speech the U.S. secretary of state associated positive changes in the world with transformations in the Soviet Union, and spoke of the deep impression produced upon him by the restructuring process in the USSR and by the new concept of socialism. He also voiced a positive evaluation of the Soviet Union's aspiration to broaden its participation in the world economy, including that through international economic organizations.

"The contents of the speech by the U.S. secretary of state indicate that the new ideas and approaches set out by the Soviet leadership get ever more deeply into the social consciousness of the United States, right up to upper echelons of U.S. leadership," the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized.

On Commerce Officials in Seoul

LD1310170188 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—In answer to the earlier asked question about the presence of representatives of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Seoul, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing today: "We were told in the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI) that CCI officials are currently in Seoul where they are exploring possibilities for the establishment of contacts between the two countries' Chambers of Commerce and Industry".

The spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs added that the CCI is a non-governmental commercial organization which in its activities proceeds from the existing realities and cannot but reckon with South Korea as a notable economic factor.

'No Obstacles' to PRC Summit

LD1310171388 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—"It is our principled stand that we are prepared for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting and will welcome it", Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said here today in answer to numerous questions on this subject.

He recalled that an arrangement about a visit of the head of the Foreign Ministry of the PRC to the Soviet Union shortly had been reached at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries in New York. It would be logical to expect a reply visit of the Soviet foreign minister to China following the meeting, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The ground for a summit meeting will then be paved.

"We proposed such a meeting for a long time, to be held at any place, any time", Gennadiy Gerasimov said. "On our part there are no obstacles to such a meeting, even though we have differences, say, on the Afghan question. But the USSR and the USA had colossal differences on Afghanistan two years ago, and this has not prevented the summit. Then why should this prevent a summit meeting with the PRC? The situation alters now, and the problem of Afghanistan looks different. At a meeting in New York the ministers focussed the attention on the discussion of the Kampuchean problem and it proceeded in a constructive spirit. So a constructive dialogue is in progress and it is logical to enhance its level".

On Military Inspection in FRG

LD1310183788 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—"We have serious concern over the violations by the FRG of restrictive provisions of the final document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe", head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing today. He told journalists about some details of a report on the Soviet Union's inspection of the military activity in the FRG territory, conducted from September 7 to September 9. On October 12 the report was referred to the participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"As it was reported in prior notifications received from the FRG and the USA, U.S. troops were being concentrated within the limits of the area mentioned in the request for the inspection, to be subsequently used in 'Certain Challenge' exercises", Gennadiy Gerasimov said. "The character of operations of forces of the USA, the FRG and France in the inspected area, the level of their command enabled the inspection group to arrive at the conclusion that all the three exercises were conducted on a general plan and meant a major joint function of NATO allied forces. The total numerical strength of the forces involved in the exercises surpassed 170 thousand".

"Conducting military activity on such a scale without notification of it two years in advance is a violation of Article 60 of the Stockholm document. This article envisages that the participating countries will not engage

in military activity involving over 75 thousand unless the notification about it was made two years in advance", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The plan of the military activity of the FRG the notification of which was to be made in 1987-1988 and which was sent to the participating countries on December 15, 1986 did not contain such an announcement. Moreover, the Soviet Union in February 1988 pointed to representatives of the FRG about the need for timely measures to bring parameters of the "Certain Challenge" exercises then planned in accordance with the requirements of the Stockholm document. But no actions have been taken to this effect.

Representatives of the FRG in the main complied with the provisions of the documents of the Stockholm conference concerning the reception of inspecting groups, Gennadiy Gerasimov said. True, radio communication between subgroups was provided only when they were travelling in cars.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said further that on October 12, at nine p.m. Moscow time, the USA made a request to the Soviet Union for an inspection of the military activity in the Baltic. Exercises of forces of the Soviet Army involving 15 thousand are now conducted in the area indicated in a request for an inspection. The notification about the exercises was timely sent to all the participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The request of the U.S. side is studied. The answer to it will be given within 24 hours from the reception of the request for an inspection. If the decision is positive, and it will apparently be such, U.S. inspecting group can arrive in the area of inspection in 36 hours.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Addresses UN

LD0710223588 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT
7 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 8 TASS—"The noble goal of freeing mankind from weapons of mass extermination will remain an illusory dream if a reliable barrier is not erected to prevent weapons from getting into outer space, said Vladimir Kravets, foreign minister of the Ukraine, speaking in the general debate at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Attempts to justify the need for the "Strategic Defense Initiative" which poses a serious threat to the whole of mankind, he said, are unacceptable either on moral grounds or from the viewpoint of an increased security. Bilateral talks between the USSR and the USA ought to be complemented by effective multilateral efforts to prevent an arms race in space within the framework of the conference on disarmament. The interests of universal security require already today active work on agreements to ban anti-satellite weapons, to ensure the immunity of the artificial satellites of the earth as well as on an international system of control over the non-deployment

in space of weapons of any kind. The process of disarmament may lose its *raison-d'être* if alongside with the liquidation of particular weapons steps will be made to increase military might or the so-called "compensation measures".

Trust and openness are important factors in fostering security in the military field. It is necessary to work for a transition from individual measures of confidence-building and openness to a large-scale policy in this field, the Ukrainian foreign minister said.

NATO Exercises Viewed; Galvin Comments
LD1010101888 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 9 Oct 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by political observer Igor Kudrin]

[Excerpts] [Kudrin] Autumn is a heated time not only for politicians, but also for the military, especially that of NATO. This is the time of year when large exercises begin, from Norway to Turkey, from Denmark to Japan. Indispensable participants in all of these maneuvers are U.S. subunits and U.S. generals. Our correspondent Kipras Mazheyka continues the story about the "Autumn Forge-88" military maneuvers:

[Begin recording] [Mazheyka] Shwabisch Hall is an ancient, picturesque little town situated at the junction of the borders of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. It is not difficult to locate on a map of the FRG. Stuttgart is 30 minutes away and Munich is 2 hours. The road from Nuremberg is even shorter—just over 100 km. Joint combat exercises of the U.S. 7th Army and West German Bundeswehr codenamed "Certain Challenge" take place in this triangle every year. Their never-center, figuratively speaking, is here, on the southern outskirts of Shwabisch Hall. [passage omitted]

The main person at these maneuvers is my interlocutor U.S. General John Galvin. The supreme commander in chief of NATO Armed Forces in Europe is interviewed on Soviet television for the first time: [video shows Mazheyka and Galvin]

[Galvin in English with superimposed Russian translation] In general I do not consider confrontation in human relations to be normal. It would be far better if not a trace of it existed. As far as our tasks in Europe are concerned, we should do everything possible to lower the present level of military confrontation. We hope that one fine day it reach the zero level, and then any inadequacies in understanding, any problems in relations between West and East will come to nothing.

[Mazheyka in English with superimposed Russian translation] Prospects are good, but what are the concrete aims that are put before the supreme commander in chief of NATO Armed Forces in Europe?

[Galvin] My main task is to engage in the training of troops and to maintain combat readiness. In peacetime, as you know, I do not command these 4 million armed personnel. In peacetime I answer to the fact that we should look befitting in the sense of how we ensure containment, the averting of war. This is achieved through combat readiness. If, God forbid, a conflict takes place, we must be fully armed and prepared.

[Mazheyka] At the final news conference, which was conducted by commanders of the U.S. 7th Army, we did not hear any kind of anti-Soviet attacks. The tone in general was restrained, even peace-loving. [passage omitted] [video shows news conference]

"Autumn Forge" has died down, and I wanted to get information about the most topical matters firsthand.

[Galvin] In my view, relations between East and West have developed in recent years. I think that some of your initiatives are indeed very useful. For example, concluding that the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are more numerous than NATO troops in Europe is a very important statement. Another important point is the readiness of the Soviet Union to reduce its troops by asymmetric means in all European sectors where they exceed us in numbers. In former times your military doctrine was quick to be offensive rather than defensive. The admission of this situation will serve better mutual understanding and greater trust. Of course it is very important that future talks, instead of mere words, should mark the beginning of the first real steps. I will not deny that we invest great hopes in talks on reducing conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. [end recording]

[Kudrin] I listened to Gen John Galvin with interest. You will agree that it is not everyday that you hear from a person of his rank words about the abnormalcy of confrontation in relations between states, about lowering the level of confrontation in Europe, and about lessening tension between West and East. But quite recently I read different statements on his part, in particular about the need to continue the program of modernizing nuclear weapons as begun by his predecessor General Rogers. It is also known that the general was confused after the Soviet-American accord on the liquidation of two classes of missiles at one go. [passage omitted]

This harsh opponent is suddenly talking about seeking ways for mutual understanding and trust. Of course one can say that the general is being diplomatic. All the same I would like to believe the sincerity of the words of John Galvin. Why can the new thinking make itself known in the cabinets of Western politicians but not penetrate the bunkers of NATO?

U.S., Soviet Stances on Nordic Zone Contrasted
PM1310140588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Shmyganovskiy report under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Nuclear-Free North: Two Approaches"]

[Text] Helsinki—A group of parliamentarians from the Nordic countries has visited Washington and Moscow with a view to taking practical steps to create a nuclear weapons-free zone in northern Europe.

Observers stress that the resolute stance on this question held by the citizens of NATO allies Denmark and Norway made a special impression on senior U.S. officials. But was this followed by practical actions?

Indeed, what did the deputies bring back with them from their two trips? The Finnish press points out that the results of the two trips are by no means identical. Whereas the Soviet Union reiterated its determination to guarantee the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the north of the continent in the spirit of the Murmansk initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in October 1987 to strengthen security and consolidate cooperation in the region, the United States showed a clearly negative approach to the problem.

Instead of a specific discussion of a specific proposal, there were attempts to talk "in general terms"—about disarmament as such, about talks between the great powers to reduce strategic nuclear arms, and about dialogue between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.... All this is indisputably important and deserves most careful attention.

But any global decision begins with the first real actions. Was that not the case with the USSR-U.S. agreement on eliminating an entire class of missiles, which made it possible to continue the strategic arms talks? Why in fact is the proposal to transform what is from a military viewpoint a most important region effectively into a zone of peace being rejected out of hand? Whose toes does it step on?

It is one thing when a city, province, or district assumes nuclear-free status and quite another when it is a question of a whole region comprising several highly developed states. It is easy to understand that they are not only concerned about their own interests, but are also, with Nordic patience and thoroughness, seeking greater security for all mankind.

The Nordic peoples meet with firm support from the USSR here. Social Democrat Ilkka-Christian Bjorklund, deputy in the Finnish parliament, stated that the Soviet Union once again expressed its determination to help create a nuclear-free zone by practical actions, including by possibly withdrawing its tactical nuclear weapons from the Kola Peninsula. At any rate, this question can

be debated. In his interview, I.-C. Bjorklund stressed that Soviet experts have confirmed their readiness for "any conceivable inspection," to use the Finnish press expression, for on-site verification in areas proclaimed free from nuclear weapons, which previously seemed impossible.

Thus on one side there is understanding and readiness to act. What about on the other? I have already written not about a reduction but, on the contrary, a buildup in the Pentagon's military activity in northern seas (IZVESTIYA No 269). How can one fail to recall that in February—while commenting on the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commissions' appeal to the parliaments and parliamentarians of the north European states, the United States, and Canada—Rozanne Ridgway, U.S. assistant secretary of state and former U.S. ambassador to Finland, stated that "a forum like this is hardly suited to discussing questions of Arctic security." So has Washington's position not changed in these 8 months?

The present trip by the group of parliamentarians from the Nordic countries, which was established 3 years ago especially to implement the idea of a "nuclear-free zone," has again shown how difficult even the most obvious sensible actions are if they are opposed by old prejudices, distrust, and the desire to look after one's own unilateral interests. But people here in the countries of the region, and in Finland in particular, do not intend to give in, and believe that northern Europe will be free from nuclear weapons.

UNESCO Expert Comments on Cooperation in Asia
LD1310121388 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—"There exist all the opportunities for a perceptible activization of humanitarian cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region within the UNESCO framework", Nikolay Kanayev, expert of the USSR Commission for UNESCO Affairs, has stated. As a member of the Soviet delegation he took part in the work of a regional conference of national commissions for UNESCO affairs of Asian and Pacific countries held in Beijing on September 23 through 27.

Nikolay Kanayev pointed out in a TASS interview that participants in the conference had held a businesslike and constructive exchange of views on the main spheres of cultural, scientific and educational cooperation of Asia-Pacific countries. Special attention was devoted to the upgrading of the existing mechanism of multilateral relations among countries of the region which is made up of regional bureaus, centres and institute [as received] for humanitarian issues created and financed by UNESCO. A number of ideas and proposals on improving the quality of education and the training of the personnel, the expansion of the exchange of scientific and technological information and the activization of the participation of Asian and Pacific countries in the

activities of the world decade for cultural development were put forward and recorded in recommendations adopted on the basis of consensus. Much attention was devoted to the eradication of illiteracy in the region.

The Soviet expert recalled that on the proposal of the Soviet delegation the conference had recommended the UNESCO director general to analyze a possibility of creating for the Asia-Pacific region a regional centre of cultural contacts of people, to draw more actively into this work international non-governmental organizations, to render assistance to the centres of ethnic studies, to pay more attention to educational, social and cultural aspects of environmental protection.

In four years every country will report the fulfilment of the adopted recommendations at a regular meeting of UNESCO regional commissions due to be held in the Maldives, which will promote effective control over the putting into practice of the resolutions of the conference.

In the opinion of Kanayev, scientists and cultural personalities from Soviet Central Asian republics, Siberia and the Far East should be drawn more actively into the work connected with the diversification of scientific and cultural cooperation within the UNESCO framework in the Asia-Pacific region.

New Movie Views Human Rights in USSR, West
PM1310150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Lyutyy article under the rubric "On Television":
"Secrets of Basket Three"]

[Text] Perestroyka, glasnost... These words which require no translation have become synonymous with the changes our country has been undergoing for over 3 years now. These changes have affected the most diverse aspects of our life. They have also touched on questions of human rights. And it must be acknowledged that the administrative edict system also left its mark in this area.

For all the clear achievements in the socioeconomic and humanitarian spheres, there were also distortions and abuses, about which we often preferred to keep silent. The democratization of society has made it possible to take an objective look at the situation. Its reevaluation has only strengthened our position in our dialogue with the West. Could it really have been supposed, say, 5-7 years ago that the USSR would propose the holding of a forum on human rights and humanitarian questions in Moscow? Today we are holding an open debate with our Western opponents. Moreover, we have a lot to tell them.

The film "Secrets of Basket Three" (script G. Shergova, directors N. Soboleva and A. Khukhrikov), made by the "Ekran" creative association and shown by central television yesterday, in a way encapsulates this debate. The moviemakers base their subject on President Reagan's

recent visit to the USSR and some of his speeches on human rights. However, they avoid the customary exchange of accusations. The film is a quite objective look at the changes taking place in our country and the way those changes are being perceived in the West.

The Belorussian writer Aleks Adamovich, who is interviewed in the film, thinks that the expression "human rights" was until quite recently a red banner to a bull for us. Too strong a metaphor? Perhaps. But you will agree that whereas we have talked about socioeconomic rights with the West with a sense of confidence, aware of our system's clear superiority on this, our arguments have not always sounded convincing on questions, for instance, of reuniting families or freedom of religion.

...The scene is the Moscow City Visa and Registration Administration. People are sitting in the waiting room. Some of them have decided to leave for good, and some are intending to visit relatives or friends abroad. The Visa and Registration Administration was once known as the "house of refusals." Now numerous obstacles and restrictions have been removed. People are traveling more, and common sense triumphs increasingly in emigration questions. True, not everyone is rejoicing. We were shown, for example, enormous lines of people and chaos and confusion at Aeroflot's international booking desks. We are traveling more, but the ticket sales system has remained a real bottleneck. We saw an old lady exhausted by constant visits to the Visa and Registration Administration to get her niece's visit processed, and this had been been dragged out by bureaucratic red-tape. S.I. Alpatov, chief of the Moscow Visa and Registration Administration, reported that the flow of people traveling abroad on private business increased by 150 percent in the first 6 months of 1988 compared with 1986. But he added self-critically: We feel a sense of moral dissatisfaction at not being able to process all the applications.

The television camera then switched to a psychiatric clinic. The American lists of those allegedly thrown into such institutions for purely political reasons include some of the patients in this hospital. A discussion with three of them and explanations by A.A. Churkin, chief psychiatrist of Moscow, allows at least two conclusions to be drawn. First, it cannot be ruled out that during the years of stagnation dissent sometimes may virtually have been identified with madness, and this led to abuses. A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree lays down criminal responsibility for unjustified confinement of a mentally healthy person in a clinic. And second: If the American side is going to touch on such a delicate matter, it should at least be more conscientious. The Americans name the Latvian Imant Keresh, for example. Yet he died of lung cancer as long ago as 1977, and he was in a psychiatric clinic not for his political activity but for the murder of three young children and committing outrages on their corpses. There are quite a few such instances where the facts are played with.

But are we not constantly justifying ourselves to Washington? One does sometimes hear this question. Some television viewers too may perhaps raise it. I do not think we are justifying ourselves, and this idea is present in the film. Every people choose and perfect their own model of society. They follow a path of arduous experience, trials, and mistakes. In creating now a rule-of-law state and removing deformations in the sphere of human rights, we are acting not at someone else's prompting but out of an inward, organic need and desire to fully reveal socialism's democratic potential. In criticizing ourselves we are not pandering to some uncle-figure, in this case Uncle Sam, but are healing ourselves.

The film "Secrets of Basket Three" also made us recall something else. We receive letters at the PRAVDA editorial office which say roughly the following: How can you write just about the American or British unemployed when we also have such people here? What answer can one give? Comparing the unfortunate cases of vagrancy and unjust homelessness which have indeed been reported in our country with institutionalized vices shows, to say the least, a lack of seriousness. And another thing: Why must we now run to the other extreme and keep silent about unemployment and homelessness in the West? Have they really ceased to exist?

In the film, President Reagan answers questions put by students at Moscow State University. Some of the answers, such as the story of the inconceivable wealth of the Indians, who are allegedly sitting on oil fields and making millions, show how our Western partners sometimes lack objectivity and honesty in a discussion of human rights. A.S. Grachev, a senior official at the CPSU Central Committee, described a letter from an American living in the state of Arizona. "I am ashamed at the answer which our President gave the students when they asked about the treatment of native Americans," he writes. "I am ashamed that he did not use the opportunity to acknowledge that we also have national sins."

The film is not, I think, irreproachable in all respects. For all the tact and restraint of the author's commentary, it contains some oversimplification. But the film is undoubtedly both topical and necessary. It calls for honest and calm discussion of human rights issues both here and in the West without name-calling. Discussion in which the public is involved to an ever-increasing extent. The "Secrets of Basket Three" of the Helsinki Final Act, which even recently were often discussed only behind closed doors, are ceasing to be secrets. And this is a sign of the times.

United States & Canada

Sigur, Armitage Article on Asia-Pacific Viewed

Rogachev Comments

LD1410091088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in English 1400 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] The other day THE NEW YORK TIMES carried an article by the U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific, Gaston Sigur, and Assistant Defense Secretary for International Security Richard Armitage. This publication turned out to be the first official reply of the United States Administration to the initiatives advanced by the Soviet leader in Krasnoyarsk and aimed at scaling down the military confrontation in Asia and the Pacific.

This reply is quite disappointing. It declares, for instance, that the USSR is required to prove the (?earnest) of its proposal by reducing what was called major and provocative military presence in the region. This groundless demand is evidently meant to distort the actual state of affairs. Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev has this to say on the subject:

No doubt we have our own view on the ratio of armed forces in the region. Thus the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces estimates that the United States has a more than threefold superiority in Asia and the Pacific in terms of the number of warships, while in terms of the deck aviation the superiority is more than tenfold, Igor Rogachev says.

Meanwhile, the official American estimates, specifically those contained in the United States defense ministry report to the Congress of this spring, say that in the long-term process the balance of military power in Asia and the Pacific is favorable for the United States and its allies. The commander of the United States Pacific forces, Admiral Hays, has stressed that the United States' position in Asia and the Pacific with regard to security are basically good and that the United States has superiority over the potential enemy in terms of conventional arms.

Now back to the article by Gaston Sigur and Richard Armitage. It says among other things that the USSR pursues an offensive strategy for the Far East while the American strategy for the same region is expressly defensive. Here is what deputy foreign minister of the USSR says:

[Begin Rogachev recording in Russian, fading into superimposed English translation] The American military doctrine, known as the Admiral Lehman doctrine, sets forth the following task for the United States naval forces: to approach the territory of the USSR dealing strikes, including nuclear ones, on both coastal targets and targets deep in the country. This doctrine is being implemented in concrete actions. For instance, the

"Bunker Hill" cruiser carrying the Tomahawk cruise missiles was attached to the United States 7th Fleet (?this August). The cruiser is charged not so much with guarding the aircraft carriers as with dealing strikes on targets deep in the territory of the potential enemy.

The authors of the article in THE NEW YORK TIMES failed to give reasonable explanations as to why they dislike the Soviet proposal to liquidate the Soviet maintenance station in the Cam Ranh Bay provided the United States liquidates its bases on the Philippines. They also turned down the idea of commencing negotiations of all interested sides on the measures to scale down military activities in the region. If there are any apprehensions with regard to the possible Soviet actions, why not start negotiations in the course of which the real intentions of the sides could (?be illustrated.) [end recording]

However, as follows from the article by the two high-ranking officials of the Department of State, Washington has to date showed no interest in such talks. Why? Here is what Igor Rogachev says:

We believe that the United States is striving not only to maintain the superiority of its naval forces but to further build it up. Significantly, whenever the issue of disbalance and asymmetry is raised, Washington totally disregards the problems of American naval superiority and prefers to discuss the problems exclusively within the context of central Europe, where the USSR has superiority in tanks and artillery. It seems that by turning down our proposals to discuss the question of scaling down the naval activities, the United States wants to make it clear that it is not interested in negotiations with a weak partner. In other words, the American position boils down to calling for another round of the race of naval arms, assuming that the Soviet Union will not be able to cope with it. We are not going to compete against the United States in terms of the output of aircraft carriers and destroyers or getting hold of more advantageous bases outside the national territories. We shall come up with a more effective and less expensive solution than the costly plans of building up the space and naval weaponry, says Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev.

It is legitimate to ask whether this country will have to prove again the truth which was revealed clearly in the course of the strategic arms race, namely that the security of states and the relaxation of tensions should be achieved through political methods. We hope the reply to our proposals contained in the article by Gaston Sigur and Richard Armitage was not the final word of the United States Administration.

Article Called 'Depressing'

PM1310102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[Yu. Glukhov commentary on THE NEW YORK TIMES article by Gaston J. Sigur and Richard L. Armitage: "Listening but Failing to Hear"; Glukhov commentary published beneath a translation of the Sigur-Armitage article]

[Text] To be honest, the article in THE NEW YORK TIMES is depressing. First one is struck by the rhetoric, the rhetoric of the worst days of the cold war. A peremptory form of rhetoric which precludes the opinions of others and the possibility for debate, discussion, compromise, and contact. All of this is vitally necessary in our complex, interdependent, and so fragile world. The Soviet proposals are dismissed as "entirely one-sided." Without any reasoning at all. Without offering counter-proposals. Without analysis. Then there is an outright ultimatum: "Moscow has to pay the admission price...."

But lecturing and diktat have never worked with regard to the Soviet Union. They are even more archaic now that the new political thinking is asserting itself. One might think that the writers of the article in THE NEW YORK TIMES were unaware that changes are taking place in the world, that Geneva and Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow have taken place, that we have seen the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and television linkups between our countries, the Delhi declaration and the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, and much else besides. One might think that Sigur and Armitage had barricaded themselves in some remote corner of the State Department and the Pentagon and that the spirit of Forrestal had wafted over them.

The THE NEW YORK TIMES article is clearly regarded as an expert assessment, even if only by virtue of the posts that the authors hold. And that is depressing. It is difficult to judge the degree of seriousness of the authors' opinions from the labels (such as "aggressive") which they pin on Vietnam and the DPRK. People writing for the "yellow press" may venture to do that. Who does not know that it was the United States which committed aggression in Korea and unleashed the "dirty war" in Indochina—one of the most ignominious episodes in modern history?

Unfortunately, the authors are not averse to openly twisting the facts. Clearly trying to drive a wedge between the USSR and Vietnam, they not only crudely distort the relations between our countries and try to impugn the dignity and sovereignty of our allies, but they also juggle the facts. The Soviet proposals directly point out, for example, that the Cam Ranh Bay question will be resolved "by agreement with the SRV Government." However, even that clear assertion does not deter Sigur and Armitage from speculation.

Conversely, relations between the United States and the Philippines, for example, are presented as idyllic, even though it is common knowledge that U.S.-Philippine relations are those of a horseman and his broken steed. For a long time now Filipinos have been looking for a way to rid themselves of their troublesome rider and do away with the U.S. military bases. But the Pentagon's men do not want to go home. Only "by joint agreement," the article says. The "joint agreement" statement has become a cover for a forcible U.S. presence and a formula for arm-twisting. Such is the Philippines' "sovereignty," U.S.-style!

Let us look at the manipulation of the "statistics" and all kinds of "information" on the Soviet naval forces, missiles, and diverse types of armaments and Soviet military supplies in the Asia and Pacific region. The manipulation is done in such a way that refutation becomes pointless.

Pointless first because the image of the Soviet Union is cast in the conventional "enemy" mold. Consequently they won't believe us however we try to justify ourselves. Second, the truth is revealed through comparison, but the authors of the article deprive the Americans and us of that opportunity. After examining the Soviet "threat" in detail (we shall not say how), they do not reveal a single one of the Pentagon's plans. There is no mention of the development of the gigantic U.S. military potential in the region, the dense network of military bases, the concentration of the U.S. armada in the Persian Gulf, the "rapid deployment forces," and so on. All this is left out of shot. A deliberately distorted picture is created.

The statement about the "misgivings" which "many of the nations of the Pacific region share" is stunning. What countries have authorized the United States to speak on their behalf and why? Do they not have a voice and stance of their own? Of course they do. And, as it turns out, one that is different from the U.S. stance. "The USSR's desire to draw the focus of attention to the need to reduce tension at international and regional levels has begun to produce clear results—take, for instance, the process currently in progress in the Asia and Pacific region, which began with Afghanistan," India's HINDU newspaper writes. The Soviet Union has published an important statement to the effect that it will not increase the amount of any nuclear weapons in the Asia and Pacific region, Australia's GUARDIAN notes. The task now facing the governments of the Asian and Pacific countries and the mass movements is to force the U.S. side to follow this example.

It is by no means easy to make all this fit in with the "common stances" and "misgivings" of the United States and the countries of the region, as you can see. As M.S. Gorbachev noted in his Krasnoyarsk speech, great-power ways and strong-arm methods are increasingly dominating Washington's policy, especially in the Asia and Pacific region. The THE NEW YORK TIMES

article is an example of that. It is riddled with hegemonist aspirations, impudence, and the desire to preach to people and to dispose of other people's affairs and destinies, be they Japan or South Korea.

Why the stormy reaction to the Soviet peace initiatives, as though they were a declaration of war? Why is it that the authors of the article did not notice or remark upon a single suggestion in the entire series of specific proposals, such as the curtailment of the arms race or the use of the Krasnoyarsk radar station as a center for international cooperation in the peaceful use of space. Yet each of those proposals is a step toward one another, a demonstration of a desire for cooperation, and an affirmation of detente. Whose real misgivings are at issue here? By all accounts it is the U.S. military-industrial complex which is anxious. Anxious about the Soviet peace offensive. It is that complex which is opposing disarmament and bringing various levers into play. It is under the pressure of that complex that certain circles in Washington are contriving to listen but in reality do not hear Moscow's arguments and appeals for reason.

But there are other feelings and forces, and quite a few in the United States. It is common knowledge how the attitude toward the USSR there is changing. According to recent polls, more than 70 percent of Americans also advocate joint efforts to settle regional problems. There is an increasingly noticeable effort to find ways to safeguard their own security and regional stability primarily by political means, and by rejecting approaches based on military force. This was also confirmed by the recent forum "Asia and the Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation," held in Vladivostok. It is apparently to stifle the echo of the Krasnoyarsk initiatives that this strange duo of representatives of the diplomatic and military departments has appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES.

I do not believe that this is the final word in the matter. After all, peace is a common concern. It meets the interests of all the peoples. It can only be preserved and consolidated by joint efforts which serve to bring the sides' positions closer together and not to put them in opposition to one another.

Chernyshev on U.S. Proponents of 'Limited' SDI
LD1310161988 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT
13 Oct 88

[*"'Limited' SDI, Full-Scale Danger"*—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—By TASS military writer Chernyshev:

In the remaining months in office of the current U.S. Administration which strongly favours SDI, the lobbyists for that programme take ever more efforts to face the subsequent administration with the fact of the lifting of all obstacles to the creation of an anti-missile defence system, and putting weapons into outer space. One of the

latest functions in this direction was a change in the so-called first phase of the implementation of SDI: transition to working out its "limited" version. Undoubtedly, this forced step was prompted by the arising technological difficulties and also by the huge cost of a large-scale ABM. A considerable role was apparently played also by the realisation by the U.S. leadership of the pointlessness of the idea of creating an "impenetrable shield" in conditions when offensive strategic arms are in abundance.

Trying to make the SDI "attractive" for the public, its champions take advantage of the fact of the Soviet-U.S. talks on radical, 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms. They claim that after such a reduction even a "limited" and relatively inexpensive ABM system can be effective. But they deliberately bypass an extremely important question of whether the strategic stability will be ensured while such a system is deployed.

Many experts and politicians, also in the United States point to the danger of the creation of "limited" ABM systems as the purpose of such systems is to provide a "shield" for offensive nuclear weapon systems, the shield under whose cover one could try to use offensive nuclear arms for a pre-emptive surprise attack, hoping to get away with impunity. The creation of such an ABM system would mean preparing a technical base which, in turn, would make it possible to speak of nuclear war as conceivable. And this is just one step away from "legalizing" a political decision to unleash a nuclear conflict.

By the way, even President Reagan himself, announcing in 1983 the beginning of the development of a large-scale ABM system and declaring that it would allegedly be promoting the elimination of nuclear weapons said that if defensive systems are combined with offensive ones, they can be viewed as a factor promoting an aggressive policy. The President then added that the United States does not want this. What does Washington acknowledge now that it intends to "combine" an ABM system with the strategic offensive arms?

The creation of even a "limited" ABM system would lead to a sharp alteration of the parameters of strategic balance and stability. Distrust among countries will increase as a result and the hopes of peoples to achieve peace and nuclear disarmament will become unfeasible.

In this case any reduction of strategic offensive arms will be out of question. Quite the contrary, the creation of an ABM system will greatly stimulate quantitative build-up of strategic arsenals—both delivery vehicles and nuclear charges. Moreover, the development and deployment of an ABM system will lead to a speedy creation and upgrading of means of opposing defence. Means for penetrating defence by strategic offensive weapons, that is, will add another, fundamentally new element to the strategic formula and hence will make the strategic situation even more uncertain.

Hence, no matter how the SDI project is changed, however the structure of the system is limited, its danger for humankind remains as scopeful and extremely serious. Hardly any sober-minded person can surmise that the security of the United States itself can be enhanced by the existence of a "shield". The preservation of the ABM Treaty is the indispensable element for the reduction of nuclear arsenals, for the strengthening of strategic stability and mutual security. This is why the USSR is so vigorous pressing for the conclusion of an appropriate agreement which would confirm the obligations of both sides to observe the ABM Treaty for a specified period of time.

USIA's Wick Cited on Moscow Meeting

*LD1310115588 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT
13 Oct 88*

[Text] Washington October 13 TASS—Charles Wick, director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) who returned recently from Moscow where he led a U.S. delegation at a Soviet-American meeting on information exchanges has described the talks there as "candid and...cordial".

Speaking Wednesday at the National Press Club in Washington, Wick pointed out that the talks had been "focused on a myriad of proposals ranging from book publication to people exchanges and to space bridges, and that resulted in a number of specific agreements". He recalled that the talks had actually been the realization of proposals put forward during the summit meeting in Washington between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The USIA director said that the two sides had agreed that "a freer flow of information between the governments and peoples of the Soviet Union and those of the United States...was a key to forging a more positive and constructive relationship between the two countries". He pointed out as well that "those agreements—while only a beginning—are important first steps in establishing a freer flow of information and a more constructive relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States". "The very fact that these talks were held at all is symbolic of historic changes underway—changes which are not only affecting American-Soviet relations, but politics among all the nations".

Charles Wick described present-day changes in the sphere of information exchange as a result of a "reciprocal desire to move U.S.-Soviet relations along the road of mutual understanding...which is the result of deliberate decisions made by both the United States and the Soviet Union". He pointed out that all this was consistent with Mikhail Gorbachev's campaign of "perestroika" and "glasnost".

Joint Symposium on Saving Energy Ends

*LD1210194388 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT
12 Oct 88*

[Text] Kiev October 12 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. symposium on power resource-saving ended in the Crimea today. It was held not far from Yalta on the Black Sea coast at the heliocentre which had been built for testing systems for the utilisation of renewable sources of power. Soviet and American specialists delivered joint reports on many subjects.

"This is the third symposium which has been held since the USSR Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of the United States agreed on the problems of power resource-saving to mankind," Academician Igor Glebov, the leader of the Soviet delegation, has told a TASS correspondent.

He pointed out that "relations between the scientists of the two countries have reached such a level that one can already speak of joint programmes of work in various directions ranging from general problems to particular ones concerning matters of power resource-saving in industry, in everyday life and the municipal economy".

Thomas Stelcon, the leader of the U.S. delegation, vice president of the Georgia Institute of Technology, has said that by combining efforts it is possible considerably to cut down the expenditure of power in the United States and the Soviet Union. Since the two countries are the major users of power, this will have a favourable effect on the energy situation throughout the world.

The American scientist emphasized that ecology is a special aspect of cooperation. The use of renewable sources of power—solar heat and wind—can well supplant nuclear and organic fuel and give an opportunity in due course to restore the disturbed natural ecological balance.

A joint protocol on the results of the symposium was adopted, and a programme for further cooperation between the scientists of the two countries was mapped out.

China

Deng Xiaoping Cited on 'New' Soviet Relations

*LD1310142788 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT
13 Oct 88*

[Text] Beijing October 13 TASS—The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, once their relations are normalized, should turn them into relations of a new type, XINHUA news agency has quoted Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping as saying at a meeting with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto.

Deng, who is chairman of the Central Military Council, observed that the new type of Sino-Soviet political and economic relations should rest on five principles of peaceful coexistence and develop on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations would not damage the interests of any other country, he pointed out.

PRC Journal Notes Sino-Soviet Normalization
LD1310142388 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Beijing October 13 TASS—The Beijing-based public and political weekly LIAOWANG has published an article entitled "Situation Calls for Normalization of Sino-Soviet Relations". The coming visit of Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China, to the Soviet Union has attracted the attention of the world public, the article pointed out. It is believed that the visit is evidence of holding soon a Sino-Soviet summit, that the time is coming for the normalization of relations between the two countries.

Most of the countries welcome the development of Sino-Soviet relations, LIAOWANG pointed out. There are enough reasons for that. The USSR and China are the two biggest countries on the European and Asian continents. Their aggregate population is about 1.3 billion, which makes about one fourth of mankind. They possess an enormous territory. This is why the normalization of their relations undoubtedly plays an important part in the elimination of factors of instability and in the protection of world peace, the Chinese journal pointed out.

In mid-80s the world began to move towards detente as a result of the improvement of Soviet-American relations. If in the present-day situation Sino-Soviet relations can be brought to normal, if these two countries can jointly work for the maintenance of peace, a strong impetus will be given to a further spreading of detente.

At the same time, LIAOWANG pointed out that some circles abroad had misgivings over the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. The Soviet Union and China have similar social systems and some time ago they were bound by a lot of factors. According to the journal, some people fear that the USSR and China will again counter industrially developed Western countries. These misgivings are absolutely groundless, primarily because the international situation is different today. Now that the long rivalry between the USSR and the U.S. is subsiding, that a dialogue is replacing confrontation, it is difficult even to imagine that China could back one of the sides against the other.

The journal wrote that China and the U.S. had brought to normal their relations already and the Soviet-American relations were gradually improving. In this situation

the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations acquires special importance. If the three major countries can maintain normal relations, it will make a most positive impact on the future of world peace.

The epoch is marching forward. Detente, consultations and a dialogue became its most characteristic features. Against this background, the development of Sino-Soviet relations towards normalization is brought about by the overall situation, the weekly pointed out.

Border Talks With PRC To Resume 20 Oct
LD1210125188 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT
12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—The third round of talks on border issues between the Governments of the USSR and China will begin in Moscow on October 20 in accordance with a mutual understanding, it has been announced here.

The Soviet delegation to the talks will be led by Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, the Chinese delegation will be headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei.

PRC Agriculture Minister Visits Estonia
LD1010211688 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT
10 Oct 88

[Text] Tallinn October 10 TASS—For the Chinese side Estonian livestock breeding, the dairy and fisheries industries are of the greatest interest for cooperation between China and Estonia, pointed out Chinese Agricultural Minister He Kang. Today he spoke to journalists at the end of his three-day visit to the Estonian Republic.

Speaking of a possible cooperation with the Soviet side, the minister noted that it could be developed on the basis of pedigree animal husbandry. He said that he meant joint scientific investigations and exchange of pedigree cattle. Besides, the Chinese side is ready, said He Kang, to exchange Chinese agricultural machinery, for instance orchard mini-tractors, for Estonian milking cows. Cooperation in the sphere of fisheries could be a second area, pointed out the minister.

He Kang visited the Sergey Kirov Fishing Cooperative, a poultry yard, Estonian collective and state farms and the republican research institute of land farming and land improvement. The Chinese guest was received by Gustav Tynspoe, first deputy chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers and chairman of the republican committee for the agri-industrial complex.

At his meeting with journalists He Kang replied to questions on forms of organization of Chinese agriculture under the conditions of the new model of the national economy. He dwelt at length on the importance of special economic zones for the country's development.

Chinese Leaders Thank Soviets for Greetings

PM1210114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message of thanks from PRC leaders to USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers

On behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people and from ourselves we express sincere thanks to the Soviet Government and Soviet people for their congratulations on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the PRC's formation, and we send you good wishes.

Yang Shangkun, chairman of the PRC

Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC All-China National People's Congress

Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council.

Control of Technology Export to China Eased

OW1210042588 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0300 GMT 8 Oct 88

[(Koleshnov) commentary]

[Text] According to reports from Paris, the Coordination Committee [Cocom] has met and decided to ease the control on the export of 12 commodities to China. Among other things, the commodities include equipment for manufacturing electronic batteries and semiconductors. The decision will become effective in January 1989. (Koleshnov), a commentator of this station, points out that this decision will enable Japan, a Cocom member, to expand its export of complex technologies to China. (Koleshnov's) views follow:

Joining Japan will be 55 capitalist countries of Cocom. I think Cocom's decision will be of primary significance for the China-Japan trade. Last year the United States criticized Japan's Toshiba Corporation for violating Cocom regulations. Because of Washington's pressure on Tokyo, the Japanese Government took measures to punish Toshiba, which exported its products to China and 13 other socialist countries. Consequently, Toshiba could not fulfill its contracts with China. Likewise, other corporations that had signed contracts with China also could not fulfill their contracted obligations, and China suffered economic losses amounting to more than \$800 million. The highest Chinese authorities have on more than one occasion expressed their dissatisfaction with Japan's measures and demanded that Japan lift the ban on the export of [words indistinct]. They also made this stand very clear during Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita's visit to China in late August this year.

Now Cocom has decided at its extraordinary meeting to ease the control of exports to China. According to reports from Paris, Japan was pleased with the decision. However, Japan also pointed out that it will be cautious in exporting to China technologies that can be applied in the military field. The U.S. representative was even more cautious. There are several reasons why the United States is so cautious. First of all, the United States understands that easing the control of exports will strengthen the position of Japan, a primary competitor of the United States. Second, the United States is not very eager to see China acquire ultramodern technologies from Japan. Listeners of this station probably also know that the United States has taken unilateral actions on several occasions to limit its exports, including the export of technologies, to China.

Taiwan Considers Direct Ties With Moscow

AU1010181388 Paris AFP in English 1724 GMT
10 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 10 (AFP)—A delegation of 60 Taiwanese businessmen, the first to visit the Soviet Union since the 1949 Chinese revolution, has discussed opening direct trade links with Moscow, a member of the delegation told AFP Monday.

Contacted by telephone in Kiev, the delegation member, who declined to be identified, said that the Taiwanese found a "positive" response in Moscow after meeting with representatives of the timber, chemicals and garment industries.

At present, trade between Taiwan and the Soviet Union passes through third countries, such as Japan, Singapore or Hong Kong, in the absence of diplomatic relations. Last year, indirect bilateral trade stood at 7.52 million dollars.

The delegation member said the Taiwanese were also exploring the possibility of using different third countries for trade purposes.

Asked about the possibility of opening diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the representative said: "Not so fast", stressing that the visit was arranged to build up initial contacts with the Soviet side.

The Soviet Chamber of Commerce last Wednesday arranged a "round table" for the Taiwanese with Soviet trade officials. A Chamber of Commerce spokesman told AFP that no "concrete ideas" were discussed at the "informal" meeting.

The delegation is on a "private" trip through the Soviet state tourism agency Intourist.

After holding talks with the Chamber of Commerce in Kiev, the Ukraine capital, the delegation will also visit Minsk (Belorussia) and Leningrad before leaving on October 18 after a two-week stay in the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

40th Anniversary of Ties With DPRK Marked

Increasing Cooperation Noted

PM1410150388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by S. Tikhomirov: "Like Old Friends"]

[Text] October 12 is a special day in the annals of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DPRK. It was the starting point of diplomatic relations, which our countries established 4 decades ago—on 12 October 1948.

A Korean saying goes: New clothes and old friends are best. But what is 40 years to History with a capital "H"? Nonetheless, let us recall that it was precisely the Soviet Union which was the first to recognize the young Korean worker-peasant republic and, when it was a little over a month old, established diplomatic relations with it.

Cooperation between the two sovereign states is strengthening and developing in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres. The DPRK's constructive initiatives, whose implementation would make it possible to substantially reduce tension on the Korean peninsula and therefore also throughout the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, have met with wide support in our country and among all people of goodwill. Above all, it is a question of Pyongyang's proposal to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. For its part, the DPRK supports the Soviet Union's proposals to establish a climate of trust and mutually advantageous cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Economic relations between the USSR and the DPRK have strengthened over the past 40 years. Suffice it to say that today in People's Korea there are about 70 enterprises in whose construction or expansion the Soviet Union participated. Trade turnover between the two countries, which now exceeds R1 billion, is also growing with every passing year. In short, multifaceted Soviet-Korean ties are expanding year by year. The guarantee of their successful development is the unity of aims facing our peoples—building a peaceful, happy future for the descendants of those who inscribed the first page in the annals of friendly relations between the USSR and the DPRK 40 years ago.

Messages Exchanged

PM1310140388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The Soviet and DPRK Foreign Ministries have exchanged congratulatory telegrams in connection with the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries today.

The telegram from the USSR Foreign Ministry says that in the past 40 years the DPRK has been transformed into a developed state which has diplomatic relations with a large number of countries, has firm stances in the international arena, and consistently advocates the strengthening of peace and security in the Pacific, Asia, and throughout the world. Soviet people express solidarity with the Korean people's just struggle for the peaceful and democratic unification of their motherland. The further expansion of businesslike cooperation between the USSR and DPRK Foreign Ministries will promote the successful solution of the foreign policy tasks facing our countries.

The telegram from DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yongnam notes that the Soviet Union was first to recognize the DPRK immediately after its formation and to establish diplomatic relations with it. This step was an important event in strengthening the friendly ties between the two countries. The telegram stresses that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation entered a new stage in their development after the meeting between the two countries' leaders in 1986 and expresses confidence that these relations will continue to expand and deepen in the common struggle of the two countries' peoples for the victory of the cause of peace, socialism, and communism.

DPRK Premier Thanks Ryzhkov

PM1410145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message of thanks from Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administration Council, to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

Esteemed Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers,

I express my profound gratitude to the USSR Council of Ministers, the Soviet people, and you personally for your warm congratulations and greetings on the DPRK's 40th anniversary.

I am glad that Korean-Soviet relations of friendship and cooperation are daily developing and strengthening. I take this opportunity to wish you with all my heart even greater success in your responsible work directed at implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, fulfilling the 12th 5-Year Plan, and ensuring the USSR's prosperity.

Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administration Council

Mongolia's Batmonh Arrives on Vacation

*LD1310230788 Moscow World Service in English
2200 GMT 13 Oct 88*

[Text] At the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Mongolia's leader, Jambyn Batmonh, has come to the Soviet Union for a holiday.

Azerbaijan's Zaynalov Visits Mongolia

*NC1110100188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] AZERINFORM's correspondent has reported the following from Ulaanbaatar:

Jambyn Batmonh, first secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, has received a delegation from the Azerbaijan SSR headed by Ratib Zaynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. The Azerbaijani delegation is in Ulaanbaatar to participate in the Soviet festivities which have been organized within the framework of Soviet-Mongolian Friendship Month in Mongolia.

Batmonh noted the very important role of Friendship Month in Mongolia, which is organized on the eve of the Great October Revolution anniversary in the Soviet Union every year. He said: The present 37th Friendship Month is a good opportunity for the Mongolian people to become acquainted with the Azerbaijan SSR's achievements in socialist construction and scientific and cultural development, and its contribution toward the reconstruction course.

Batmonh also asserted: The Soviet experience in implementing the historic decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference is having positive effects on the realization of the reformist policy outlined by the Mongolian People's Revolution Party.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Fedorov on New U.S. Attitude Toward Khmer Rouge

*BK1410021788 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 13 Oct 88*

[Fedorov commentary]

[Text] Six months have elapsed, but a solution to the Cambodian problem has not yet been reached. However, there has been some progress on this issue. A few days ago in Washington, U.S. President Ronald Reagan assured Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of the U.S. Government's full support for the settlement plan agreed upon by representatives of the Cambodian warring groups during the informal meeting held in Bogor in July this year.

Comrade Vasilii Fedorov, our commentator, writes:

First of all, we would like to discuss some points regarding the resolution reached at the meeting in Bogor.

The Phnom Penh government agreed with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Son Sann, as well as the Khmer Rouge on the mutual dependence of two important issues. In Bogor, they agreed that the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia directly depends on the guarantee that the Pol Pot clique will not be allowed to return to power in Cambodia. At the same time, foreign aid to the Pol Pot clique must also stop. Those who attended the Bogor meeting also agreed to convene an international conference on Cambodia. This conference will guarantee any agreement reached by forces inside the country and ensure that there will be no interference in Cambodia's internal affairs.

From July to October, the United States has not clearly defined its attitude. But the progress made in the search for a settlement and the Bogor resolution have enjoyed increasing international support. Washington has thus been compelled to set forth clearly its policy regarding this matter. President Ronald Reagan has voiced support for the efforts of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk who is scheduled to meet with Comrade Hun Sen in Paris next month.

In September, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk asked France to help convene an international conference and President Mitterrand had agreed.

In my opinion, of additional significance is the support given in Washington to the thesis concerning the mutual dependence of a Vietnamese troop pullout and the elimination of the Pol Pot clique from the political scene. The U.S. attitude was prompted by Vietnam's decision to pull out all its troops from Cambodia by early 1990. President Ronald Reagan has agreed with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on the need to eliminate Pol Pot and his henchmen from the settlement of the Cambodian affair.

Following his meeting with the U.S. President, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk vehemently demanded that Pol Pot and his henchmen be removed from the leading posts in the Khmer Rouge group.

THE NEW YORK TIMES revealed that the expulsion of Pol Pot was one question raised during the meeting in Washington.

Briefly speaking, the situation has developed in accordance with the resolution reached by the Cambodian warring parties during the Bogor meeting.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Receives Afghan Media Officials

*LD1010183388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 10 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] A delegation of senior personnel of Afghanistan's mass news media and Foreign Ministry was in Moscow

2-10 October. It was received by Comrade Shevardnadze. Meetings and conversations took place with senior employees of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; TASS; Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting]; APN; the Information Administration and Middle East Countries Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry; and the editorial staff of the IZVESTIYA newspaper.

The role of mass news media in creating a correct idea of the situation in Afghanistan for the world public was noted during the talks. Questions of strengthening Soviet-Afghan cooperation in the sphere of information were discussed.

Afghan Spokesman Denies Air Force Using Napalm
LD1310194488 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 13 TASS—An Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman today denied Western press claims that the Afghan Air Force has used napalm bombs against extremists in some of the country's regions.

Speaking at a briefing, A.F. Widi, head of the ministry's press department, said the Air Force has never resorted to such weapons.

The allegations about the use of napalm along with claims that the Afghan Army has employed other chemical weapons and that some cities have been seized by extremists, among other concoctions, are part of the West's psychological warfare against this country, he said.

Widi added that the prime objective of the smear campaign is to fan the flames of the fratricidal war in Afghanistan.

The spokesman dismissed reports that the opposition has destroyed several aircraft and helicopters in Helmand, Vardak and Ghazni Provinces as groundless.

Quoting the Air Force Command, he said that over the past week not a single plane or helicopter has been even damaged, let alone shot down.

Widi pointed to the increased frequency of rocket attacks on cities with resultant civilian casualties.

Extremists fired rockets into Kabul and Gardeyz, Paktia, on Wednesday evening and night again. Two peasants, who were a married couple, were killed and their two children wounded in Gardeyz.

Widi said it is not only the Afghan armed opposition but also its Western and regional patrons that are to blame for the crimes.

Answering reporters' questions about the situation in different provinces, the spokesman debunked reports about the rebels' capture of Asadabad as false. He said the capital of Konar Province has been left only by government troops, while civil authorities and home-guard units have stayed put.

Prime Minister Bids Farewell to Soviet Ambassador
LD1310180088 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Dr Muhammad Hasan Sharq, the prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, had a farewell meeting yesterday afternoon in his office with His Excellency Nikolay Grigoryevich Yegorychev, ambassador and representative of the Soviet Union to the Republic of Afghanistan, whose term of service has ended in Afghanistan.

According to another report 'Abdul Wakil, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, met yesterday afternoon in his office with His Excellency Nikolay Grigoryevich Yegorychev for a farewell meeting.

New Ambassador's Biography
LD1310181288 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] The appointment of His Excellency Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union to the Republic of Afghanistan, which had been previously requested by the authorities of that country, has recently been announced.

A short biography of His Excellency Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov: Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov was born in 1929. He completed his higher education in the Soviet Institute of International Relations. Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov has extensive diplomatic experience and has served as the Soviet ambassador to India and France. Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov has served as first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union since 1986. He has been honored with Soviet medals and decorations and is fluent in English. Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov is married and has a daughter.

Rogachev Calls Pakistan Envoy on Violations
LD1410131888 Moscow Tass in English 1307 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—Today Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, invited Abdus Sattar, Pakistani ambassador to the USSR, and made a representation to him in connection with continued violations by Pakistan of the Geneva accords on an Afghan settlement. It was pointed specially to the encouragement by the Pakistani authorities of the anti-Afghan activities in Pakistan by the so-called interim government of Afghan mujahidin.

Specific facts of such activities were indicated to the ambassador. He was also told of groundlessness of statements by the Pakistani leadership which did not know allegedly anything about the operation of the above-mentioned "government" in Pakistan.

The Pakistani ambassador promised to convey without delay the content of the representation to his government.

PRAVDA Notes Algerian Leader's Reform Promises
PM1310120988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Clashes Rock Algiers"]

[Text] Algiers, 11 Oct—On Monday evening Chadli Bendjedid, president of Algeria and general secretary of the FLN [National Liberation Front] Party, made an appeal to the nation on national radio and television. He described the situation that had taken shape in the country as complex. Algeria, he noted, is experiencing demographic growth and a serious economic crisis, and revenue from petroleum and petroleum products exports has declined. Foreign debts have become a heavy burden on the national economy. The country has essentially reached the brink of civil war.

In C. Bendjedid's words, no one thought that the young people's demonstrations would do such serious harm to state establishments and enterprises and educational institutions. In the situation that took shape, the president indicated, he was forced to take necessary measures to restore order and to save the gains of the Algerian revolution and the interests of the state and its citizens. The choice was difficult, but no other way remained. Moreover, he expressed regret that significant material and also human losses had been sustained in the course of events.

Within the framework of the search for a realistic way out of the situation that has taken shape, the president indicated, measures are now being taken at government level. A program has been formulated to control prices, to ensure the supply of foodstuffs to the population, to increase the broad masses' prosperity, and to improve the position of working people with low incomes. The reforms that have been prepared are in the process of being implemented. C. Bendjedid stressed, moreover, that the time had come not only for economic transformations but also for political reforms.

Indicating the necessity for dialogue with the aim of resolving the problems in a calm atmosphere and by democratic means, the Algerian president appealed to the population to give essential assistance in implementing the planned reforms. He called on the nation to strengthen unity and to overcome the difficulties that have arisen in the country with complete responsibility.

As the APS agency reported, immediately after C. Bendjedid's speech demonstrations were held in a number of cities in support of the Algerian leadership's course. Life is gradually returning to normal.

Bendjedid Address Reported

PM1310133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent S. Filatov followed by TASS report under general heading: "Situation Getting Back to Normal"]

[Text] C. Bendjedid, Algerian president and secretary general of the FLN [National Liberation Front] Party, who spoke yesterday evening on national radio and television, stated the necessity to conduct political reforms in the country and continue the economic reforms that have been started.

He noted in particular that the acts of vandalism and sabotage committed in recent days had seriously damaged state enterprises and institutions and educational establishments. Essential measures had been taken to save the revolution's gains and to restore order. The country, in the president's words, was virtually on the verge of civil war. C. Bendjedid expressed regret that there had been casualties during the events.

The Algerian president described the situation prevailing in the country as complex. Algeria, he noted, is experiencing demographic growth and a serious economic crisis; there has been a discernible drop in revenue from exports of petroleum and petroleum products, and foreign debts are a heavy burden on the national economy. Naturally, this is having an effect on the population's well-being.

Indicating the necessity of dialogue aimed at resolving the problems in a calm atmosphere and by democratic means, the Algerian president appealed to the population to give essential assistance in implementing the planned reforms. He said that a program has already been formulated to control prices and supply foodstuffs to the population, raise the well-being of the broad masses, and improve the position of working people on limited incomes.

The time has come to implement the necessary reforms in the political sphere, the president stated. Constitutional structures need to be reexamined and brought into line with the new stage of development. It is impossible to conduct reforms in the economy and agriculture, in the education system, and in the administrative organs without political reforms, the draft of which is now being prepared and will be under nationwide discussion in the coming weeks.

C. Bendjedid called upon Algerians to strengthen unity and overcome the difficulties with full responsibility. As the APS agency reports, after the president's speech there were demonstrations in many of the country's cities in support of the Algerian leadership's course.

The capital is calm today.

Paris, 11 Oct—An Algerian Government spokesman told a French television correspondent that a referendum will be held in the country in line with the political reforms proposed by the president. The date for this has not yet been fixed. According to the Algerian spokesman, the proposed reforms will entail profound social and political changes in the country. He announced also that appropriate sanctions will be taken against persons guilty of provoking the disturbances.

General Lushev Leaves Moscow for PDRY, YAR
PM1310111788 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On Official Visit"]

[Text] Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, left Moscow 12 October for Aden for official visits to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] and the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR].

At the airport Army General P.G. Lushev was seen off by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; and other generals and officers.

Among the send-off party were A. 'Abd al-Ilah, PDRY ambassador to the USSR, Major A. Dayyan, military attache at the PDRY Embassy in the USSR, and A. al-Khaymi, military attache at the YAR Embassy in the USSR.

Petrovskiy Comments on PLO, Israel, Saudi Arabia
LD1410102988 Kuwait KUNA in English 0958 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Kuwait, Oct 14 (KUNA)—A high-ranking Soviet official has expressed his country's satisfaction over the development of Soviet-Kuwaiti relations describing them as "excellent" and disclosed that the Soviet Union is currently holding a fairly growing political dialogue with Saudi Arabia.

He told "AL-QABAS" daily here today that the Soviet Union strongly supports the United Nations efforts for breaking the state of stalemate of the Iraqi-Iranian peace talks but he said the responsibility in this regard does not concern the U.N. Security Council permanent member states and the U.N. secretary general alone.

The Soviet official stated that the responsibility is quite big and should be shouldered by the U.N. Council non-permanent members, Iraq, Iran, as well as the permanent [word indistinct] members and the U.N. secretary general.

Vladimir Petrovskiy Soviet deputy foreign minister told AL-QABAS that time is ripe to make the consensus over convening the international conference for peace in the Middle East "a reality" and expressed his country's support for participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO, in such a conference.

He declined to state his country's stance towards a proposed declaration of a Palestinian independent state and said that is "a premature matter".

Petrovskiy said the recent Soviet-Israeli contacts were only measures to clarify certain issues. He affirmed that the diplomatic relations between Moscow and Tel Aviv will never be resumed unless the proposed international peace conference on the Middle East is held.

On the situation in Lebanon, Petrovskiy said the constitutional crisis there is another indication for the need to reach a comprehensive settlement for the Mideast problem.

Soviet, PLO Officials Confer in Moscow 10-11 Oct
PM1310135988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings Held"]

[Text] Meetings were held 10-11 October between A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister, K.N. Brutsents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and a PLO Executive Committee delegation consisting of M. 'Abbas (delegation leader), A.A. Mustafa, S. Najjab, A. Hurani, and also M. Nawfal, member of the DFLP Politburo.

An in-depth exchange of opinions was conducted on ways to reach a comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict and resolve its key, Palestinian problem by calling an international conference with the participation of the UN Security Council permanent member states and all interested sides, including the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative. It was noted that the latest events in the Near East, including the mass demonstrations by the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories, are pushing to the fore the task of switching to practical steps to defuse the conflict situation in the region. Such steps must account for the balance of interests of all sides involved, as was set out by M.S. Gorbachev at his meeting with Y. 'Arafat in April this year.

The Palestinian representatives talked about their preparation for the coming Palestinian National Council session which is intended to determine at the new stage the strategic directions of the Palestinian people's struggle to implement its inalienable rights to self-determination.

The Soviet side stressed that the present crucial moment requires increased efforts in favor of a settlement, utilizing bold, creative decisions that would accord fully with the principles of the new political thinking. A high assessment was given to the constructive, realistic approach of the PLO leadership, which is aware of its responsibility for the future of the Palestinian people and peace in this region.

The delegation was informed of Soviet diplomacy's activity in the Near East sphere, in particular about how these questions were posed at meetings between E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, and with leaders of other states' foreign policy departments in the course of the 43d UN General Assembly Session.

On behalf of the PLO leadership the delegation expressed its gratitude to the Soviet Union for its unwavering support of the Palestinians' struggle for its legitimate rights.

Both sides noted the importance of continuing contacts and close coordination in the interests of establishing a fair and lasting peace in the Near East.

V.F. Sobchenko, USSR ambassador to Tunis, and N. 'Amr, PLO extraordinary representative to Moscow, took part in the conversations.

East Europe

TASS Details Yazov's Activities in Bulgaria
*LD1210110388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1905 GMT 12 Oct 88*

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (TASS)—Army General D.T. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Minister of Defense, who is in the People's Republic of Bulgaria [PRB] on an official friendly visit, today visited a Bulgarian People's Army tank brigade. The Soviet guest was accompanied by Army General D. Dzhuurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and PRB Minister of National Defense, and other officials.

A brotherhood-in-arms meeting took place at the tank brigade area. At the meeting Army General D. Dzhuurov noted that the Bulgarian people are bound forever to the Soviet people and to their valiant Armed Forces and hold sacred the memory of the thousands of Russian servicemen who gave their lives for the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke. They also hold sacred the great feat of the Soviet Union, which saved the world from the fascist plague. Our 9 September revolution was

victorious with the decisive help of the USSR, he said. Inviolable Soviet-Bulgarian friendship is now our intimate concern and destiny. Together with the allied states, the PRB will continue to make its contribution consolidating peace and to resolutely resisting the imperialist policy of aggression and diktat.

In his speech, Army General D.T. Yazov stressed that fraternal friendship, with roots spanning centuries, helps the USSR and Bulgarian peoples resolve the tasks of building and defending socialism, and serves as an important factor of stability and peace in Europe. The present time is noted for strengthening the solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries, expanding and renewing their cooperation, and increasingly profoundly combining national and international interests.

Interaction in organizing the defense of socialism in keeping with the demands of the defensive military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member-states is developing dynamically. The active coordinated policy of the fraternal countries, based on the new political thinking, is aimed at the creation of a system of all-embracing security and the preservation and consolidation of peace.

On the same day, the Soviet military delegation visited the F. Engels machine-building combine in the city of Kazanluk, meeting and conversing with workers.

The guests paid a visit to one of the aviation units of the Bulgarian People's Army, and familiarized themselves with the combat training and the airmen's every-day life. They then toured Plovdiv and laid flowers at the "Alesha" monument.

The USSR minister of defense gave a dinner in the Soviet Embassy in the PRB, at which Army General D. Dzhuurov and D. Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary were present. During the dinner D.T. Yazov and D. Dzhuurov exchanged speeches.

In the evening the delegation left Sofia for home. At the airport it was seen off by D. Dzhuurov, deputy minister of national defense of the PRB, and other officials.

V.I. Ivanisov, the USSR charge d'affaires in the PRB, was present at the delegation's departure.

Yazov Returns to Moscow

*LD1310110788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 13 Oct 88*

[Text] Army General Yazov, CPSU Central Committee candidate member and USSR minister of defense, returned to Moscow from Sofia today. He paid an official friendly visit to Bulgaria.

He was met at the airport by Comrade Talyzin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and other officials.

Moves To Curb Unrest in Serbian Regions Noted
PM1310104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Situation in Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Oct—TANJUG reports that the current political situation in the republic was examined at a joint session here of the League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee Presidium and the Montenegrin Presidency. Representatives of this republic and party and state federal organs took part in its work. [passage omitted]

At the joint session, the Montenegrin Presidency and the League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee Presidium adopted decisions in connection with the demands put forward at the protest rally involving workers, young students, and other citizens held 7-8 October in Titograd.

The TANJUG report points out that it was noted that the main demands of the rally's participants are an expression of the economic crisis within the country, the palpable decline in working people's living standards, and the exceptionally serious material and social position in which a large proportion of Montenegrin labor collectives find themselves.

The Presidency and the Presidium believe that the basic demands voiced at the protest rally are justified and mainly constructive and are in the mainstream of the struggle to strengthen the fraternity and unity of all peoples and ethnic groups, implement profound social reforms, resolutely crush counterrevolution in Kosovo, and ensure free life for the Serbs and Montenegrins in this province.

Belgrade, 11 Oct—A League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee plenum held here today examined the political situation in the republic and the questions of preparing for the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum.

TANJUG reports that R. Vico, member of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium, who delivered a report, "sharply condemned the actions of the people who have mounted a slander campaign against the Serbian leadership in connection with the rallies held in solidarity with Kosovo's Serbs and Montenegrins," accusing the Serbian leadership of "failing to observe the principle of democratic centralism." While assessing the situation in Vojvodina, he supported the demands of many party organizations regarding the convocation of an extraordinary conference of that autonomous province's League of Communists and the implementation of "radical cadre changes with a view to consolidating party-political life." In connection with the situation in Kosovo, the speaker announced that an

additional militia detachment would be sent there immediately and would employ "all constitutional means" to defend Serbs' and Montenegrins' rights.

T. Milenkovic, chairman of the Serbian Trade Union Confederation republic council presidium, stressed in his speech that "the authorities are unable to elaborate a mechanism to curb inflation."

The plenum approved by an overwhelming majority the proposal to expel K. Siroka, A. Vlasi, and S. Dolasevic from the LCY Central Committee.

Korosec on 'Necessaary' Reforms in SFRY
LD1210200588 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT
12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade October 12 TASS—The putting into practice of reforms in economy, the political system and the party will be in the centre of attention of the 17th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which opens on October 17, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists, has stated at a meeting with journalists here.

He said that with a view to implementing the reforms it was necessary to overcome differences of opinion and to consolidate the unity of actions of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on the key problems. It is necessary to give answers to questions raised by the situation in Kosovo and the deteriorating situation in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations. The plenary meeting will discuss the role and responsibility of steering bodies. Its participants are to analyze and assess the processes taking place in the country.

Work is going on which is aimed at the renovation of personnel of the Central committee of the League, its presidium and commissions. BY all appearances, Stefan Korosec continued, it will be completed only after the holding of corresponding plenary meetings of the Central Committee, the regional and republican committees.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslavia has assumed a clear stand on reproofs and accusations directed against the steering bodies and separate senior executives. It is necessary to fight against groundless criticism, slander and attacks.

The agenda of the 17th plenary meeting will include a proposal on the creation of a commission of the Central Committee on transformations in the League of Communists. According to Korosec, the point at issue is the reform of the party whose directions were outlined by the 13th congress and the conference of the League.

Journalists were told that the 18th plenary meeting would be held immediately after the end of the 17th plenary meeting. It will analyze ideological and political aspects of constitutional changes. The purpose of the

plenary meeting is to evaluate in what degree draft amendments to the Constitution of Yugoslavia are in line with the strategic course of the party and its 13th congress.

Answering questions of journalists, Korosec said that a session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists had adopted a decision to the effect that presidiums of central committees (regional committees) in all the republics and regions should voice their attitude to the developments in Montenegro.

Soviet, SFRY Parliamentarians Discuss Ties
PM1210115988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] On 10 October a meeting took place in Moscow between a USSR Supreme Soviet Chamber Foreign Affairs Commission delegation and a delegation from the SFRY Federal Assembly Federal Chamber Foreign Policy Committee and Chamber of Republics and Provinces Economic Relations with Foreign Countries Committee. They were headed by V.V. Zagladin, secretary of the Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission, and A. Simovic, chairman of the Federal Assembly Federal Chamber Foreign Policy Committee.

The sides expressed the common view that extensive and multifaceted cooperation between the two countries, based on the proven principles confirmed in the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted in Belgrade in March, during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the SFRY, is developing successfully.

There was an in-depth exchange of experience of the activity of the two states' parliaments and their commissions and committees in conditions of the reforms taking place in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia to improve the political and economic systems. During the discussion of economic cooperation problems there was confirmation of a mutual commitment to widening it on a balanced basis by means of developing more effective forms, above all coproduction and the creation of joint enterprises.

During the exchange of opinions on international issues mutual satisfaction was expressed in connection with the positive changes taking place in the world, above all in the sphere of strengthening international security and disarmament. [IZVESTIYA in Russian in a similar TASS report in its 12 October Morning Edition on page 4 adds: "The sides underlined the need not to relent in the struggle to make this process irreversible.

M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation, which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere."

Condolences Sent to SFRY on Rail Accident
LD1210121488 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian
to Yugoslavia 2000 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has cabled its deep condolences to Branko Mikulic, president of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, on the serious rail accident on Sunday [9 October—FBIS] at Lapovo Station, 150 km south of Belgrade, in which two cars of a passenger train left the track and crashed into the engine of a freight train. More than 30 people were killed and many were injured.

RCP Approval of Ceausescu-Gorbachev Meeting
PM1310112788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "High Assessment"]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Oct—The RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee has given a high appraisal of the results of the official friendly visit to the Soviet Union by N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of Romania, and the fruitful outcome of his talks with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A report on the session says that the accords secured in the course of the Soviet-Romanian Moscow summit are an important contribution to the further strengthening of the traditional ties between the CPSU and the RCP and the Soviet and Romanian peoples. In this connection the importance of the measures taken to step up production cooperation and specialization was stressed.

AUCCTU's Shalayev Receives Poland's Miodowicz
PM1110112188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
11 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at AUCCTU"]

[Text] A. Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Alliance, visited the USSR 9-10 October at the invitation of the AUCCTU. Questions of further developing and deepening bilateral ties between Soviet and Polish trade unions and some problems of the international trade union movement were discussed at a meeting with AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev.

There was an exchange of information on urgent questions of the activities of Soviet and Polish trade unions and on the new tasks facing them at the contemporary stage of sociopolitical development.

The two trade union leaders advocated increasing the trade unions' contribution to economic and social progress, to renewing all spheres of the life of society

under conditions of economic reform, to deepening socialist democracy, and to stepping up activity in defense of working people's legitimate interests and rights.

The meeting took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

W. Natorf, Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, participated in the meeting.

Poland, Mongolia Support Gorbachev Initiatives
*LD0810173588 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT
8 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw October 8 TASS—The Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), the two states and peoples carry out political and economic reforms with due regard for their specific, historically established conditions, fully supporting the revolutionary strategy of the Soviet restructuring process, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, president of Poland's Council of State, said in a speech here on Friday at a dinner given in honour of Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, staying in Poland on an official friendly visit.

The Polish leader emphasized that the Polish-Mongolian talks held in Warsaw reaffirmed the unity of the PUWP's and the MPRP's views on key problems of our times.

"The new thinking has already yielded the first concrete results on the European continent. It is also winning its way in Asia and the Pacific Ocean region. We jointly support the important initiatives, which were put forward in Vladivostok by Mikhail Gorbachev, and the Soviet leader's proposal made in Krasnoyarsk on strengthening security in Asia", Jaruzelski pointed out.

In a reply speech Batmonh gave a high appraisal of the package of peace initiatives, which have become known as the Jaruzelski plan, on arms reduction and confidence-building in central Europe.

Touching upon the state of affairs in the Asia-Pacific region, he emphasized that Mikhail Gorbachev's specific proposals gave a new impulse to further development of dialogue, and to the building of confidence and mutual understanding between states in that part of the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic considers it its duty in every way to contribute to the strengthening of security in Asia and to the establishment of firm foundations of peace and cooperation between the states of the continent.

Further Reportage on Poland's 45th Army Day

Jaruzelski Address

*PM1310145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report on Polish Army Day speech by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, published untitled with article profiling wartime Tadeusz Kosciuszko regiment under general headline "The Oka and the Wisla"]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Oct—Collaboration within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and the comradeship with the Soviet Army forged in the flames of the joint struggle against fascism are the sure foundation of Poland's defense policy, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, said. He was speaking in Warsaw at a ceremony celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. The ceremony was attended by leaders of the PZPR and Polish state and government, representatives of the country's armed forces, members of the public, and also representatives of the Northern Group of Forces.

W. Jaruzelski stressed that profound, irreversible reforms are being conducted in the country. The army is not distancing itself from them. The armed forces, which bring together representatives of all classes and strata of society, instill in people a highly developed sense of duty and civic awareness. They are the natural champion of broad, realistic national consensus based on the principles of socialism, taking into account the conditions shaped by the country's history. The Polish leader warmly congratulated the personnel of the Polish Army and World War II veterans on the important event in the armed forces' life.

On Victory Square, near the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, there was a ceremonial changing of the guard. Wreaths and bouquets of flowers were laid at the foot of the memorial complex.

W. Jaruzelski and other Polish leaders participated in the ceremony.

Wreaths and flowers were also laid at the monuments to Soviet and Polish soldiers killed in battles for the liberation of the country from the fascist aggressors.

Tretyak Attends Jubilee Meeting

*PM1310114588 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report under general heading: "Glorious Anniversary of Polish Army"]

[Text] On 11 October Brigade General A. Czernow, military, naval, and air attache at the Polish Embassy in the Soviet Union, held a reception to mark the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Army.

The reception was attended by Army General I.M. Tretyak, USSR deputy defense minister; Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Among the guests were the military, naval, and air attaches to the embassies of a number of foreign states in the USSR.

W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, was present.

Polish General on Army's Role

PM1310090788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 12 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Army General Tadeusz Szacilo, chief of the Polish Army Main Political Administration and Polish deputy defense minister: "On the 45th Anniversary of the People's Polish Army. Guarding Peaceful Labor"]

[Excerpts] October 12 is the 45th anniversary of the historic battle at Lenino in Belorussia waged by the Tadeusz Kosciuszko 1st Polish Infantry Division. That day saw the birth of the new people's Polish Army. This battle, in which Polish fighters fought shoulder to shoulder with Soviet Army fighters, began a resolute turnaround in Polish history in the struggle for national and social liberation. It signified a breakthrough in Polish-Soviet military and political relations and created the foundations for the current Soviet-Polish friendship and brotherhood in arms. [passage omitted]

For the People, For the State [subhead]

Forty-five years have elapsed since Polish fighters' baptism of fire on Soviet soil. From this perspective it is easier for us to assess the people's Polish Army's contribution to the processes of forming a people's state and sum up, as it were, its service to its motherland and its people.

Today we have many sources of national pride. The first of them stems from the fact that Polish soldiers—as the sole representatives of the other states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition—stood alongside Soviet soldiers among the ruins of shattered Berlin. This crowned the Polish contribution to the struggle against fascism and unequivocally confirmed the correctness of the choice of Poland's future political and social makeup. A Poland allied with and the friend of the Soviet Union. Thanks to the party, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, a front-line officer in the people's Polish Army and now the leader of our state, noted some years later, we did not miss this historic moment that was of crucial importance for the fate of the people and the future of the country and Polish fighters were in Berlin in the very thick of the historic process and created the people's revolutionary history.

This is a fundamental truth dear to every one of our country's citizens. Since its creation during the war and during the postwar period the people's Polish Army has devoted all its efforts to serving socialist Poland.

Fighters took part in creating organs of state power on the liberated territories, they carried out our party's program, implemented the aims formulated in the Polish National Liberation Committee Manifesto, and explained the principles of the worker-peasant alliance. Thousands of soldiers took part in implementing agricultural reform, assimilating the returned territories, restoring and launching industrial enterprises, building cities and villages out of the ruins, and creating the foundations and material base for the socialist system.

We did not ask, an order from the Polish Army's commander in chief said, whether statutes and military theories developed in academies envisage soldiers plowing, sowing, and reaping for the peasants, fighting for order and security, defending citizens' lives, and, exchanging books and newspapers for their guns, going to the people with words of explanation and truth, but we have and will continue to defend Poland wherever necessary not only with guns but also with hammers, plows, words, and our personal example.

These words well reflect the role, character, and class functions of the people's Polish Army. These functions are still the same today. The ideological makeup of our socialist army was shaped and strengthened in its service and work for the country, in the process of revolutionary transformations, and in combating the class enemy. Fighters' patriotic and internationalist consciousness strengthened, their links with society deepened, and their combat training improved.

In past decades the Polish Armed Forces have tirelessly improved their combat readiness in accordance with real threats, keeping it at the level of necessary sufficiency. This follows from the defensive character of the national and coalition military doctrine. We carry out the process of instructing and training our army according to the principles of defensive doctrine.

Military-political conditions are now far more favorable for implementing defensive tasks than they were during the years of cold war, universal mistrust, and hostility. A qualitatively new situation is arising whose distinguishing feature is East-West rapprochement and dialogue. The peace initiatives submitted by the USSR and other socialist states are designed to stop the arms race, rid mankind of nuclear weapons, and create a system of trust in international relations. The Jaruzelski plan—named for the leader of our state and the commander in chief of the Polish Armed Forces—is an essential element in these endeavors. This initiative in keeping with the Soviet Union's proposals is also designed to lessen the threat and boost confidence in Central Europe and has won international recognition.

The people's Army also plays a great role in our people's life during peacetime service. The people's Polish Army's educational-organizational, ideological-political, and cadre achievements and also its profound links with the people ensure our Army's lofty position in society and in all spheres of state life.

Society greatly appreciates its Army's contribution to national economic activity and to the development of the state's public life, culture, and science. This shows vividly the nature of the new-style army, its internal function, and its humanist makeup.

This is illustrated by the work of tens of thousands of soldiers at construction sites throughout the country, their aid to agriculture, the activity of military public figures, and the participation of scientists, artists, doctors, engineers, and also many other uniformed specialists in work for the good of all citizens and for the good of Poland. Polish Army fighters and party and youth organizations operating within the Army have actively and extensively joined in implementing the policy of socialist renewal and democratization of life initiated by the 9th and developed by the 10th PZPR Congresses and implementing the tasks defined by the decisions of the 7th and 8th PZPR Central Committee Plenums and aimed at consistently overcoming difficulties in the country's socioeconomic development.

The revolutionary program of restructuring formulated by the CPSU has won great recognition in our society and in the Army. The cordial and warm atmosphere of the July visit to Poland by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and also the weighty results of this visit, which are helping to further deepen Polish-USSR friendship and cooperation, were an expression of this. The changes under way in our country are helping to strengthen the party's leading role within the Army, humanize soldiers' service and life, make more rational use of public property, and fully implement the principle that "soldiers are each other's comrades in arms." At the same time it is invariably a matter of party honor for a soldier to do his duty better and better, maintain the army's combat readiness and ideological standard at a high level, and maintain the requisite vigilance with regard to political adversaries, thus confirming his loyalty to socialist Poland.

Our Armed Forces' ideological education work both within their own ranks and also in society, above all among the young generation, is a special way for them to perform their intrinsic function. Fighters exert an influence through their personal example, selfless service and labor, the maturity of their political consciousness, their civic stance, and their socialist patriotism.

The quality of our Army primarily depends on the level of military, ideological-political, and special training of officers, warrant officers, and career noncommissioned officers. Today the Polish Army has high-quality cadres

capable of promptly fulfilling defensive tasks in accordance with the requirements of Warsaw Pact military doctrine. Cadre staff guarantee that our Army develops correctly, its combat readiness is maintained at the requisite level, the correct avenues are chosen for educating and training fighters, the Army's nationwide functions within the state are performed, and defense tasks are successfully fulfilled within the national and coalition framework.

'Allies' Collaboration [subhead]

Poland's defense might and security, international positions, and prospects for further development arise from its alliance and close cooperation with socialist states. Above all, from its brotherhood in arms and indissoluble ties with the Soviet Army and the alliance between our state and the Land of the Soviets. This is extremely essential for consolidating peace.

Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms, as has already been mentioned, was born, strengthened, and sealed by the blood shed together in the battles against fascism from Lenino to Berlin. Years of peacetime service have directly continued, developed, and deepened the multifaceted cooperation between both fraternal armies.

The people's armed forces formed on Soviet soil with cadre and material-technical support from the Land of the Soviets developed and improved thanks to this aid after the end of hostilities. The scale of this mutually advantageous cooperation broadened after the formation of the Warsaw Pact and the creation of its Joint Armed Forces.

This significant fact started a new phase in the process of practically implementing Lenin's principle of international cooperation. Our participation in the Warsaw Pact gives us the opportunity to exploit the most modern solutions and scientific-technical gains at the socialist community's disposal and to use tried and tested experience. This enables us to mutually coordinate and concentrate our efforts on chosen areas, which in turn gives us the chance to find the optimum solutions in the interests of our country's defense capability.

Recent decades have provided a good example of broadening cooperation and collaboration between Polish Army fighters and Soviet comrades in arms and also the troops of other socialist states' armies. Recall the participation in joint space flights and exchange of experience between specialists from various branches of troops and services. This also includes exchanges of military academy students, meetings between workers in the party political apparatus and youth organization activists, joint field work involving fraternal army subunits, and joint exercises. All this serves to further strengthen the ties of friendship between socialist states' armies and peoples.

The Polish Army is celebrating its 45th anniversary together with the whole people. It shares all the people's concerns, worries, and successes. This year we are greeting the army holiday in a working atmosphere. We express our support for the cause of the transformations initiated by the PZPR through our army labor and the exemplary fulfillment of our military and social duty.

West Europe

Further on Shevardnadze Visit to France

Speech to UNESCO

PM1310142088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Second Edition pp 4-5

[TASS report: "Establishing the Ideals of Peace in People's Minds"]

[Text] Paris, 12 Oct—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, today met with F. Mayor, director general of UNESCO, at UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Certain questions of improving collaboration between the USSR and UNESCO were discussed, in light of, among other things, the accord on an official visit by F. Mayor to the USSR early in 1989.

E.A. Shevardnadze was present at a ceremony at which the permanent representatives of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Belorussian SSR presented to UNESCO the instruments of ratification of the convention on protecting the world cultural and natural heritage.

E.A. Shevardnadze then addressed members of the Executive Council, representatives of international nongovernmental organizations that cooperate with UNESCO, and personalities from culture, science, and education. He said:

Mr Director General!

Ladies and gentlemen!

My speech to you—the first speech by a USSR foreign minister within these walls—was inspired by the idea expressed by M.S. Gorbachev that the aims for which UNESCO was set up are acquiring a special significance today.

It is dictated by the Soviet Union's desire to ensure that UNESCO's noble activity in strengthening peace and security by extending mutual understanding among peoples accords as fully as possible with present-day needs and today's level of understanding of the world.

My speech is dictated equally by the Soviet Union's desire to make an innovative, constructive contribution to that activity.

On the way here I remembered a story by one of our writers, whose hero, an inhabitant of a remote Siberian village, on learning of the world's first successful heart transplant, fires off a double-barreled hunting rifle into the starry sky.

This nocturnal salute perplexes the people around: What has a heart transplant carried out in a distant, foreign country to do with this man? But for people of that kind, there are no such things as distant and foreign countries, your own and other people's problems, your own and other people's troubles or joys. There are only thoughts and ideas, participation and shared experience, faith in the triumph of reason, and a sense of responsibility for everything that happens in the world, and these things bind them to the rest of mankind. There is only spiritual kinship—the solidarity of thinkers whose intellect tends to overcome any differences, distances, or borders.

I would like to link that story to the first commandment of our restructuring: Man, his life and dignity, and social development are above everything else. Just as common human values are above any other interests.

I consider it particularly important to say this within the walls of an organization whose founders wrote into its charter words about a peace founded on the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

Once that goal seemed a fine ideal, but divorced from reality. Today the ideal has become an imperative. A political and at the same time moral imperative. And the integral nature of the world, which is becoming ever more manifest, endows that imperative with a global force.

When we ask whether UNESCO is following that imperative today, whether it is marching in step with the times, we are obliged to touch on highly complex and sometimes acute problems.

No one has the right to abstract himself from the historical and political context in which UNESCO has had to operate in past years. Those years were difficult, not only for UNESCO. We all experienced the decades of the "cold war" and the "Iron Curtain," the division of the world into blocs and alliances, we all lived through periods of acute confrontation. All this did little to promote the spiritual unity of the world. Moreover we must admit that the past—distant and recent—profoundly deformed mankind's spiritual life, leaving us with a heavy legacy.

The political and ideological storms of the age did not pass UNESCO by, and, unable to resist them, it found itself disunited, subject to the ravages of a multiplicity of bloc, group, and individual interests.

As a result, deplorable as it may be, the organization found itself in a precrisis state, and its very rich potential was not uncovered and exploited to the full. Three respected members of the organization stopped participating.

In considering the reasons, we do not absolve ourselves of blame. Sometimes, yielding to the influence of confrontation and striving to resist the imposition of ideas we could not accept, we acted according to the principle "spearhead against spearhead." UNESCO's essential principle of "toleration" was undermined by the excessive ideologization of approaches.

Criticizing ourselves first and rejecting the role of judge, we call upon everyone to incorporate the lessons of the past into the renaissance of UNESCO that has begun. Its aim, in our view, is for the organization's universal integrality to accord fully with the growing integrality of the world. For it to embark on the course set by its own sailing directions—the UNESCO Charter, and become a truly unifying center of cooperation.

In speaking of UNESCO's universality, we have in mind not only the very broad, all-embracing representation on it. Universality implies that in its practical activity our organization works on the principle of a united mankind, a united, interconnected, and interdependent world. Our decisions should be the common denominator of the interests and needs not only of East or West, North or South, but of the whole human family.

This way of formulating the question is determined not only by the imperative of the times. It could not be otherwise, because the sphere of education, science, and culture is common to all mankind by its very nature. If there are common human values—and of that there can be no doubt—they are formed and enshrined first and foremost in the intellectual sphere.

People tend to repeat great truths without thinking about it, but only experience of life gives rise to a conscious desire to follow those truths. We had to experience decades of disunity and confrontation to realize: We are different and will remain so for a long time, but our civilization is one, and cannot be saved piecemeal. We need consolidation, we need solidarity, first and foremost the solidarity of thinking people.

A real solidarity, causing the idea of the unity of the world and of our destinies to take root in the peoples' consciousness. That solidarity should be impregnated with the consciousness of the vital necessity of establishing in international relations the moral principle and the priority of common human values.

UNESCO—to use Mr Perez de Cuellar's words—is regaining its original role of the "thinking head" of the entire UN system, in the most favorable conditions possible.

When the great powers began to cooperate, everyone saw that the United Nations Organization was again becoming a worldwide center for solving international problems. This trend applies equally to UNESCO.

I may say that our own restructuring, falling within the common stream of mankind's aspirations, is helping that trend to take root.

Restructuring was born of the urgent mental need to overcome a static situation, stagnation. A complex, sometimes painfully dramatic analysis of the past, inseparable from the realistic assessment of socialism's historic achievements, enabled us to develop a new lens through which to look at ourselves and at the world, at our responsibility to our own people and to mankind.

Restructuring has brought into its arsenals hitherto unexploited creative forces, has summoned out of oblivion unjustly rejected names and works, and has restored civic rights to the dialogue between the public and the state, the authorities and the artist, the individual and the collective.

In the course of the processes of growing democratization and glasnost, pluralism of opinions and assessments, freedom to express disagreement, tolerance, and humanity are being asserted.

The traditional concept of culture has suddenly acquired new facets. The culture of dialogue. The culture of debate. The culture of comprehending that which is alien, not your own.

Without belittling the political, economic, social, and legal aspects of restructuring, whose significance was so clearly highlighted by our party's conference and the recent decisions on the reform of the political system, I would like to say that restructuring is also a moral and cultural phenomenon. Because in addition to everything else, culture is the effective force that determines society's capacity to set itself higher value judgments and mold the people's life in harmony with them.

This restructuring could not fail to affect our foreign policy too. Today that policy is entirely based on the concept of the new political thinking and is guided by its principles.

Chief among these principles are:

—freedom of choice, which presupposes the renunciation of the monopoly of the truth in the last resort and of the forcible imposition of ideas, doctrines, and models of development;

—political and cultural pluralism, whereby no commitment to one's own convictions can justify their messianic dissemination;

—reliance on dialogue, not on confrontation; on consideration of the balance of interests, not the balance of forces;

—the exclusion from international relations of ideological differences as an independent component, and the safeguarding of national security in close linkage with the strengthening of universal security;

—peace through reason, not through strength; the strength of politics, not the politics of strength;

—the primacy of international law in international relations.

The concept of the new political thinking which is forging a path in interstate relations is not a code of principles, not a philosophy—it is action, practice. Its achievements include:

—the conclusion and steady implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles;

—the political settlement over Afghanistan, which gave rise to a whole chain of steps that could lead to the settlement of other regional conflicts;

—progress toward the signing of a convention on the total elimination and prohibition of chemical weapons;

—the gradual erosion of mutual "enemy images" and the restoration of the image of a partner prepared to cooperate;

—ever wider exchanges of information and contacts between people.

The Soviet Union is reviewing its attitude toward many international organizations, in particular in the economic sphere, and seeking to take a worthy place in them.

It sees its role in UNESCO in a new light too. Now that the ideas of its founders, who anticipated a unique role for the intellectual, spiritual, and ethical factors of politics in the conditions of an integral world, are acquiring new scope, there is no more important cause for us than to help to humanize international relations and overcome the spiritual disunity of the peoples and their exclusion from the ways and means of saving the very foundations of life on earth.

Now that the common threats have naturally brought us all to an awareness of our common fate, we seek in every way to consolidate and augment the world's spiritual and intellectual forces.

The Soviet Union, advocating that this great energy be plugged directly into the network of international policy, sees UNESCO as a unique generator generating new, creative approaches to the problems of humanitarian and intellectual cooperation in the interests of peace and security.

We believe that UNESCO has an important role in the creation of a scientifically substantiated strategy for the development of a world undergoing renewal.

In this sense the "Council of Wise Men" proposed by Mr Federico Mayor appears to us to be not only a new UNESCO institution, but a prototype, a model for uniting mankind's best intellectual forces under the common flag of the salvation of civilization and mankind's survival.

UNESCO has accumulated an enormous potential of knowledge and experience in the most diverse spheres of intellectual activity. Obviously an objective need has arisen to carry out a certain regrouping of UNESCO's guidelines, with the emphasis on the utilization of the world's latest achievements in the spheres of science, technology, culture, and education. Thought should also be given to new organizational forms of UNESCO's activity.

The age of science has raised the world to heights from which it must either go still higher and further, or fall into the abyss. With all its discoveries it has authenticated a truth that was known to the ancients: Knowledge in itself is not a panacea for all evil. Without moral awareness, it is the source of evil.

The sacred faith in the force of knowledge is undermined by devilish inventions, the depletion of the natural resources for self-reproduction of natural wealth, hunger, and poverty.

The scientific and technical revolution was not accompanied by a spiritual and moral revolution, and as a result the fruitful stratum on which civilization survives has begun to grow thinner.

Today it is becoming increasingly difficult to divide civilization into sectors: science, education, culture.

For instance, only recently science existed in isolation alongside other spheres of intellectual activity. Now it is involved increasingly directly and specifically in forming people's very life. But in so doing it acts as a kind of separator, intensifying the stratification of societies according to their ability to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the peoples.

This destructive force grows because of the different levels of development of states and their far from identical capacities and potential for joining the common stream of scientific and technical progress or even acquiring its results.

In these conditions the question of the international, common human function of science and of overcoming the still prevalent trend toward monopolization of scientific and technical achievements becomes acute. The scientific and technical revolution cannot be allowed to separate the peoples widely in terms of their level of prosperity and quality of life.

It seems to us that this is, for UNESCO, a most important problem whose resolution cannot be delayed. Through joint efforts, a formula should be found here for the just distribution of the achievements of the scientific intellect, and a procedure should be established whereby the fruits of scientific knowledge become available to all peoples.

It is necessary to decide in principle as well as in practice whether such phenomena as protectionism and monopolies in science, technology, and information and all kinds of other restrictions are in the interests of peace, of mankind, and of individual states.

Keeping entire peoples on the periphery of the emerging world of science and information is not only immoral, but dangerous. Dangerous not least for the peoples whom history has placed at the peak of prosperity and well-being.

UNESCO is clearly aware of this danger and sets up open laboratories and scientific and practical associations under its auspices.

In the Soviet Union, major scientists are proposing to form the "Moscow Energy Club." They intend to set up very close ties with UNESCO and establish cooperation with it on the urgent problem of the development and introduction of energy-saving technology and the use of new and renewable energy sources.

UNESCO could become involved in the project to obtain energy from thermonuclear fusion.

The success of this enterprise—and it has already been put on a practical footing—would give mankind a source of clean, inexhaustible energy, which would make it possible to resolve radically many global economic and ecological problems.

This applies equally to culture. Culture cannot exist by itself, it must permeate every sphere of intelligent human activity. Here too there is the danger of the cultural stratification of mankind; here too there are patent attempts to perpetrate aggression against the cultures of entire peoples and ethnic groups.

The general erosion of the fertile humus of culture is particularly marked against the background of regional conflicts, the economic enslavement of peoples, and the destruction of the natural environment. These things are inseparable from each other.

In saving the world from wars, we must preserve culture.

And in these conditions, UNESCO is up to the task. It is switching on the emergency rescue system by announcing a world decade of cultural development. The Soviet Union, actively supporting this initiative, would be pleased if in the context of the preservation of artistic assets the coming decade were to actively establish the idea of the universality of cultural assets and their global, common human nature.

If we follow this path, we will be laying firm foundations for the development of ideas on a higher order of humanism to meet the demands of a united mankind entering its third millennium.

Let us look at culture more widely, let us go beyond the bounds of purely aesthetic concepts, to where the peoples eke out a meager existence full of material privation. The polarization of wealth and poverty has spread to the sphere of mankind's cultural assets too. And however much the aesthetes may assert that beauty belongs to culture, and not to daily life, without the cultural foundation we cannot create the conditions for an existence worthy of man.

It is time to acknowledge that the problem of mankind's moral survival is equivalent to the problem of the preservation of the physical basis for his existence. And having acknowledged that, to become firmly convinced that UNESCO's peacemaking and unifying activity should embrace far wider spheres than education, science, and culture as such.

Here it is more correct to raise the question of a single ecology of spirituality, morality, and intellect. Because a course of events that is also possible is one where mankind, surviving physically, could find itself sent back to the level of spiritual barbarity, and thus once again drastically lower the threshold of its security.

Beauty will save the world, Fedor Dostoyevskiy taught us, and we believe in this commandment. But it will not save the world if the world always separates culture from material production, politics, science, technology, education, and every other sphere of social activity. Because culture is something much more than the preservation of historical monuments or people's aesthetic erudition. It is an imperative measure of inner relationships between the eternal and the transient, a constant measurement of intentions and decisions by the supreme criteria of justice, good, and beauty.

In other words, it is a kind of all-embracing, all-permeating control system without which neither economics, nor politics, nor science, nor education will fulfill its common human mission.

It is said that UNESCO has a kind of register of sites worthy of protection as a priority. Let us suppose that this list needs to be given concrete form. A great many

assets exist that are part of the spiritual self-awareness of peoples, but that by force of historical circumstances are physically separated from them. Being on the territory of other countries, they perish there, and we cannot save them. That is where UNESCO's rescue mission is really needed.

There are also the problems of dying languages and the natural or enforced assimilation of cultures. An integral world is not a melting pot. The world is integral because of its diversity.

By joint efforts we must increase the effectiveness of UNESCO's work in this exceptionally important area too.

Not long before the start of our meeting, the permanent representatives of the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian and Belorussian Republics to UNESCO handed to Director General Federico Mayor the instruments of ratification of the Convention on the Preservation of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of Mankind.

I will say frankly that we have been intolerably slow in affiliating to this convention, which was drafted, with our participation, back in 1972. The stagnation phenomena of recent history played a part here too. But we are trying to make up for lost time through active work to rescue and protect cultural monuments and natural assets at home in the Soviet Union and in other countries.

We hope that the implementation of the program of the World Decade of Cultural Development will strengthen the peoples' will to prevent the erosion of moral and cultural assets.

Within the framework of this program the Soviet Union is prepared to hold an authoritative international symposium in Moscow on the topic "Mankind's Common Heritage—Into the Third Millennium."

Our common heritage includes the earth and sky, the seas and oceans, the lakes and rivers. It includes everything that made us mankind.

It also includes space—that field of future peaceful concerns. And we must keep it peaceful.

One way to do this is to develop peaceful international cooperation in outer space.

We know that there is a strong feeling within UNESCO in favor of the implementation of an international space research project under its auspices.

M.S. Gorbachev recently declared the Soviet Union's intention to make available to the scientists of the world the major radar station near the city of Krasnoyarsk. We would welcome a UNESCO initiative aimed at setting

up an international scientific collective to launch peaceful space research at an absolutely peaceful Krasnoyarsk radar station. Soviet scientists are prepared to have contacts with appropriate UNESCO organs with a view to the practical implementation of this idea.

We will not preserve our common heritage or leave it to the future unless we protect the environment in which man lives.

At the 43d UN General Assembly Session the Soviet Union proposed the holding of a progressive, triple cycle of emergency meetings on problems of coordinating efforts in the sphere of ecological safety.

We count on UNESCO's support in putting this proposal into practice.

Actively supporting the idea of a "Council of Wise Men" and UNESCO's proposal for the creation of an international committee of scientists on "Ethics and the World Community," we believe they could focus attention on the problems of ecological and cultural security.

UNESCO's strategy of action is worked out by the organization itself, nobody gives orders here. But perhaps its leaders will find it interesting to hear our thoughts on this score.

The Soviet Union's proposals are focused on active participation by UNESCO in the drawing up of conventions and recommendations aimed at humanizing international relations and ensuring observance of the norms of civilized intercourse.

We call for the areas of humanitarian cooperation to be brought up to date in the light of the new thinking. There is every reason to bring within UNESCO's prerogative the moral evaluation of the divergences in the norms of international law and domestic legislative practice.

UNESCO could promote the creation of a worldwide UN information program, using its own television channels and computer network. We promise the support of our national technical means, with a view to disseminating the ideas of unity in the interests of mankind's survival, the preservation and protection of his spiritual and ethical values, and the expansion of humanitarian and intellectual cooperation.

We know that UNESCO has embarked on drawing up a third medium-term plan, which is to define its future activity almost until the end of this millennium. We are impressed to know that it intends, within its sphere of competence, to make a contribution to the cause of peace, development, and environmental conservation. We regard this as a natural concern on the part of the organization for the global problems that concern all mankind.

We also support UNESCO's emphasis on the problems of human rights and on combating all forms of discrimination.

In the light of the "communications explosion" in the world, UNESCO's interest in this sphere is natural. We believe that here we should seek the free circulation of information.

We understand the demands of the majority of UNESCO members for the most resolute measures to combat illiteracy and democratize education. The Soviet Union will cooperate actively with UNESCO and other international organizations to implement all priority projects for the spread of education.

In our view UNESCO should resolutely address youth problems. The organization should embark on an active dialogue with the youth of the world. We are prepared to participate actively in drawing up corresponding projects oriented toward the needs of those to whom we will hand down the legacy of the earth and peace.

Time is restoring to us many words and concepts once erased from man's lexicon by enmity and violence. Among them is mercy. UNESCO rightly proposes to bring this into wide international circulation through the organization's program for improving the living conditions of deprived population groups. UNESCO has with reason, in our view, drawn attention to the problems that urbanization entails, highlighting the topic of "The Future of the Cities" as one of its future projects.

Still more resources will certainly be needed, as time goes on, to implement UNESCO's programs. We see the source of these resources in real disarmament and the cutting of military budgets. Even now we could plan corresponding research.

We will actively support the course of improving the UNESCO mechanism and improving the administrative and financial aspects of the organization's activity. Saving resources, structural rationalization, bringing cadre policy into line with the real needs of UNESCO programs and projects in the light of the increasing role of the public and international nongovernmental organizations—all this is important to us.

In our vision of UNESCO's present and future activity, the task that comes to the fore was formulated thus by M.S. Gorbachev: "To establish in the world a moral atmosphere such that the arms race, confrontation and the whipping up of the danger of war, and the militarization of society and the public consciousness will certainly be perceived as a challenge to the world community, to the very foundations of modern civilization, as an encroachment on man's basic right—the right to life."

The Soviet Union will use all its assets and the widest possible participation in the development of international cooperation to help UNESCO to resolve this task.

Here we share the wise idea in the UNESCO charter that mutual lack of understanding has throughout mankind's history been a cause of suspicion and distrust between peoples.

UNESCO is the place where we can together do much to dispel that mutual lack of understanding.

Let us remember this in conducting debates here, discussing cooperation projects, and adopting decisions and resolutions.

Let us remember it always, every day, every minute.

Dumas on 'Positive' Visit

LD1310130688 Moscow TASS In English 1256 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Paris October 13 TASS—Roland Dumas, French minister of state and foreign affairs minister, called as positive the results of the recently ended official visit to France by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister.

He told a press conference held here that the sides reached the goals of the visit: to raise French-Soviet relations to the topmost level and to impart an impetus to diplomatic activities between the two countries. In his words, France intends to conduct active policy with respect to the East European countries.

The head of the French foreign office said that the sides would continue consultations to prepare the coming exchange of top-level visits between the Soviet Union and France. He noted that they would give special attention to several international problems. He named five of them.

According to the minister, the sides will examine questions of chemical disarmament in the light of preparing an international conference in Paris, whose idea is backed by the Soviet Union. The agenda also includes non-militarization of outer space and relative problems of control. They will examine the question on completion of the Vienna meeting and the earliest (by the end of the current year) start of talks on cutting conventional weapons in Europe. Roland Dumas also confirmed that Paris agreed in principle to holding one of three conferences on humanitarian questions in Moscow.

As for regional conflicts, he noted, the Soviet Union and France confirmed their desire to contribute to calling an international conference on a Mid-East settlement. The Soviet side does not raise objections of principle against holding an international conference on Cambodia in Paris, he added.

Italian Premier de Mita Arrives in Moscow 13 Oct
PM1410113388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Ciriaco de Mita, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, arrived in Moscow on an official visit 13 October at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

C. de Mita and his wife were met at Vnukovo Airport at the steps of the aircraft by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and his wife.

The following took part in the welcome: V.M. Kamentsev and B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirnyukov, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A.N. Volkov, V.G. Zakharov, and K.F. Katushev, USSR ministers; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium; N.M. Lunkov, Soviet ambassador to Italy; and other officials.

S. Romano, Italian ambassador to the Soviet Union, was among those present.

The Italian and Soviet state flags were raised at the airport. An honor guard of troops from the Moscow Garrison lined up on the tarmac. A band played the two countries' national anthems.

N.I. Ryzhkov and C. de Mita inspected the Soviet troop formation.

The welcoming ceremony concluded with the guard of honor marching past.

A motorcade with a motorcycle escort left the airport for the city.

The streets and squares of Moscow through which they passed were hung with the Italian and Soviet state flags.

A ceremony of greeting for the Italian guest was held in St. George's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace.

C. de Mita and his wife were warmly greeted by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife.

M.S. Gorbachev and C. de Mita had a brief conversation after the greeting ceremony.

Opens Talks With Gorbachev

LD1410080788 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT
14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev began a conversation in the Kremlin today with Italian Prime Minister Ciriaco de Mita.

The Italian head of government arrived in the Soviet Union on Thursday for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti are taking part in the conversation.

FRG's Kohl To Visit USSR 24-27 October

LD1310223088 Moscow World Service in English
2200 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] At the invitation of the Soviet leadership the West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl will come to the Soviet Union on an official visit to last from the 24th to 27th of this month.

In an interview with Soviet journalists in Bonn Kohl said that he'd like to make such meetings regular. He expressed the hope that this trip should boost economic links with the USSR, which is already among West Germany's leading trade partners in the East.

Kohl Interviewed

LD1310173388 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn October 13 TASS—TASS correspondent, Vladimir Serov reports:

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has met with a group of Soviet journalists here and answered their questions.

Touching upon his forthcoming visit to the USSR, he said that relations with the Soviet Union were of cardinal importance for the Federal Republic.

"Our policy with regard to your country is notable for continuity. It is imbued with aspiration for mutual understanding and cooperation. In the conditions of the policy of perestroika and glasnost which is being carried out by your country, we want to take all the chances to give a long-term perspective to our relationships on the basis of the Moscow treaty. Thereby we shall make a substantial contribution to the future development of Europe and to a radical improvement of relations between the West and East".

"General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and I agree that the purpose of the forthcoming exchange of visits is to make headway in German-Soviet relations in many directions for mutual benefit", the chancellor went on to say.

"On the basis of mutual respect and notwithstanding the still existing divergences of opinions on principled matters, we want to discuss many still unused possibilities for cooperation. We have a desire to coordinate or to begin to implement as many specific projects in all spheres of cooperation and exchanges as possible. Not only in the area of politics, economics, science and technology, but also in the field of culture and humanitarian issues".

"I shall suggest to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev that political dialogue at all levels should be made continuous. Summit meetings could in future be held regularly and contacts between parliamentarians and all social groups could be more intensive".

When describing the trade and economic contacts between the two countries, Helmut Kohl pointed out that the Soviet Union ranked the first among the FRG's trading partners in the East and with a large margin. "My forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union and meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev will give additional impulses to our economic relations".

"German enterprises are ready for traditional and new forms of cooperation. It is with great attention that they follow the process of economic reforms in your country. Our economy is prepared to participate in transforming patterns, in modernising the Soviet economy and in building capacities necessary for that. I also think about new forms of cooperation in the shape of joint ventures which have already been established together with Soviet partners by 13 German enterprises".

The chancellor welcomed headway achieved in Vienna over the question of elaborating a mandate for talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

"The Federal Government", he pointed out, "insistently comes out in favour of starting the talks as soon as possible. It is a question of the key problem of military security in Europe: to remove the now existing disbalance in conventional armed forces".

"At one with our partners for the alliance we at the meeting of the heads of state and government of the member countries of the North Atlantic alliance in March 1988 set out in detail the concept which serves as the basis for our approach to the talks".

The chancellor said that "our aim is to achieve such a state of affairs in Europe under which conventional armed forces from the viewpoint of strength, combat

equipment, and deployment would no longer have capability for a surprise attack or for large-scale offensive operations. I am gratified to state that representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member states at their recent summit meeting also declared for a reduction in the armed forces to such a level which would rule out the possibility of a surprise attack or offensive operations".

The chancellor came out against granting a non-nuclear status to the Federal Republic of Germany at any time. His opinion is that "a nuclear-free Federal Republic would contradict our conviction that both adequate and effective conventional and nuclear armed forces are required to ensure our security".

He also spoke out against the establishment of nuclear-free zones, maintaining that only a transfer of nuclear potentials would take place as a result of that.

Touching upon the idea of building a 'common European home', the head of the FRG's Government said: "In this question we in the West and East are far from being at the beginning of the road. The building of such a home has already been started. The final act of the Helsinki conference is at the same time a blueprint and rules for that. It is essential to develop this all-European set-up without delay so that human rights would be respected ever more fully, cooperation would grow stronger and security would be ensured through joint efforts, and not through confronting one another. This is why we insist the the Vienna follow-up meeting of the representatives of the states which participated in the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should end with the adoption of a substantial and well-considered final document".

Vinogradov on FRG Relations

LD1010175488 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT
10 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS—The coming visit to the Soviet Union of Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of West Germany, and an agreement reached on a reply visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to West Germany next year are evidence of the serious intention of the leaders of both countries to open up a new page in their relations, Vladimir Vinogradov, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, has stated.

He pointed out in an interview with the TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy that along with interstate relations, the relations between Soviet Union republics and lands of West Germany were also developing successfully. Thus, during a visit to North Rhine-Westphalia of Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, late in September a joint statement was signed on the main directions of cooperation between partners, including machine-building, environmental protection and agriculture.

Agreement has been reached on the stepping up of scientific and technological cooperation, specifically, in the joint development of the up-to-date production processes, as well as cooperation in the sphere of culture, urban architectural development, secondary and higher education, public health, vocational training and the retraining of personnel.

Vladimir Vinogradov shared his impressions of his trip to West Germany when he had accompanied the head of government of the Russian Federation. He said that the first conclusion that could be drawn from numerous meetings and conversations was the growth of interest in the Soviet Union among the West German public, in getting to know this country without distortions and stereotyped notions that had been persistently imposed on people for a long time. It was pointed out during all the conversations that both the Soviet Union and West Germany belonged to the "common European home". The "common European home" is understood in West Germany as a territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is believed there that it is impossible to build it without the participation of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Vinogradov expressed confidence that the relations between the Russian Federation and North Rhine-Westphalia would develop in line with the general desire to develop Soviet-West German cooperation which would lead to the establishment of more stable relations in Europe and to the strengthening of trust in the East-West relations.

Silayev Meets Genscher in Bonn on Expanding Ties
LD0710045288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 6 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn, 6 Oct (TASS)—The issues of broadening expanding further cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG were discussed at the meeting of Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is here on a visit, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, which took place in Bonn today.

The guest, who has come here at the head of a delegation of Soviet machine-builders, gave an account of restructuring in the USSR and of large-scale transformations in all spheres of the Soviet society. The sides spoke in favor of the progressive development of Soviet-West German economic cooperation and of enriching it with new forms.

The West German minister stressed that relations with the Soviet Union are of pivotal importance for the FRG. In his words, the FRG Government believes that expanding economic ties with the USSR is an efficacious tool for developing political relations between the two countries, and between East and West as a whole.

USSR, Finland Meet on North Europe Environment
PM1410085788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Issues connected with environmental protection in northern Europe will be the subject of discussion at a meeting of Soviet and Finnish specialists opening in Murmansk on 11 October.

The Soviet delegation at the meeting is headed by F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, and the Finnish delegation by K. Barlund, Finnish minister of the environment.

Protection Agreement Signed
LD1210131288 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1900 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Finland and the Soviet Union have concluded a preliminary agreement on the limitation of air pollution in the North Calotte area. Environment Minister Kaj Baerlund and Fedor Morgun, chairman of the Soviet Environmental Protection Committee [name and title as heard] agreed in Murmansk that the area's emissions of sulphur, nitrogen, and heavy metals are to be reduced. The Finnish-Soviet Mixed Commission on Environmental Protection will meet in Moscow next October, when the plans for a reduction in emissions will be ready. The Soviet Union says it will strive to reduce sulphur emissions in Pechenganikel by over 50 percent and in Severonikel by about 47 percent by 1993. The goal is to reduce the emissions as much as possible, to a point that will not harm the environment.

Austria's Mock on Moscow Reservations About EC
AU1110094888 Vienna KURIER in German 9 Oct 88 p 2

[Rupert Haberson report: "Mock: Moscow's EC Reservations Are Not Insuperable"]

[Text] Vice Chancellor Alois Mock does not want to overestimate the reservations expressed by USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on Austria's potential EC membership, the text of which has now been published: "It is clear—and I have always said this—that there are different opinions in this respect. However, one should not dramatize this." At the talks in Moscow Shevardnadze also referred to the exemplary, good relations—in addition to the reservations—and expressly stated that he was satisfied with the Austrians' explanations about EC membership. Mock: "I made it clear that there is no membership without neutrality being safeguarded." All of the military aspects of the EC are also not acceptable to Austria. However, Mock says, military cooperation with the EC is not planned: "For this purpose the Western European Union has been revived."

Mock ("I have never described the USSR reservations more positively than they are.") also says that he did not go to Moscow to ask whether Austria may apply for membership but that he "briefed the USSR as a state with which we have particularly good relations." The USSR reservations can, perhaps, not be totally eliminated, but he does not consider them "an insuperable obstacle." The talks with Shevardnadze were positive for him: It is part of the character of our relations that Moscow has always "respected our political system and our ties with the Western countries."

Says Mock on the question of who is interested in making Moscow's reservations public: "It is clear that critical remarks are used by those who want to torpedo the EC efforts."

UK Labour Party's Annual Conference Ends

*LD0710202288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1530 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] In Blackpool, the annual conference of the Labour Party, Great Britain's major opposition party, ended today. Although the conference endorsed without exception all the documents that had been developed by the Labour leadership in reexamination of the party policy, by no means all the leadership's ideas received full support of conference delegates. Thus, acute disagreements emerged in connection with the intention of the present Labour leaders to begin constructive cooperation with monopolies if the party comes to power.

Many representatives of the trade unions, which as before have considerable weight in the Labour Party, took the view that this intention is a frank digression from traditional Labour principles, which advocate, at least in words, that the means of production should be owned by society.

Greek-U.S. Bases Talks End Without Result

*LD0810093088 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT
7 Oct 88*

[Text] Athens October 7 TASS—The tenth round in the Greek-American negotiations on the future of U.S. military bases in Greece has ended in Athens with no apparent results reached.

An official representative of the Greek Government said here today that discussed in the course of the tenth round had been various aspects of the problem of the bases, on which the sides put forth their viewpoints.

The next round of negotiations is to be held in Washington early in November.

Washington is seeking, cost what it may, to keep its bases in Greece, and therefore the negotiations, which began last year, are dragging on. There are reports that Washington is even trying to have the Hellinikon base moved

to some other part of the country. But the Greek Government stated that the decision to close the base was final and would not be changed.

CPSU Greets New Turkish Communist Party

*PM1310141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Undated "CPSU Central Committee Greeting to First Turkish United Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] As has been reported, the first Turkish United Communist Party congress has been held. The CPSU Central Committee sent the congress a greetings message.

It notes that the first Turkish United Communist Party congress, which is the culmination of the unification of the Turkish Communist Party and Turkish Labor Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism within the framework of a single political organization, is an historic event in the Turkish workers and democratic movement. Both parties have trodden the difficult path of struggle for the Turkish people's interests, for democracy, and for an independent Turkish foreign policy course and have always acted from genuinely patriotic positions.

The greetings give a high assessment of the active support Turkish Communists are giving to the development of Soviet-Turkish relations and strengthening of friendship between the two countries' peoples.

In the greetings message the CPSU Central Committee expressed solidarity with the imprisoned party leaders—Comrades Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin—and with other Communists in detention.

The CPSU Central Committee wished the Turkish United Communist Party success in effecting the organizational and ideological cohesion of all its ranks, in the further development of cooperation among the country's left-wing and democratic forces and in the struggle for democracy and working people's interests and for a peace-loving foreign policy for its country.

Latin America & Caribbean

Results of Chilean Plebiscite Considered

Democratic Trend Seen

*LD0710182588 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT
7 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 7 TASS—In connection with the results of the recent plebiscite in Chile, the TASS diplomatic correspondent asked Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, about the Soviet assessment of the event.

Like in most countries of the world, Vadim Perfilev answered, we in the Soviet Union view the outcome of the expression of the will of the Chilean people with satisfaction as a natural result of the many years of struggle by the various forces of the country for the re-establishment of democracy. The results are convincing proof of the success of the efforts made by the Chilean patriots within the framework of uniting the democratic movement.

In our opinion, the results of the plebiscite also reflect a general trend toward democracy in countries of Latin America, and in general toward the assertion of the right of the peoples to a free social and political choice. As before, the Soviet people express their solidarity with the Chilean people and wish it a successful overcoming of the difficulties still standing in the way of the restoration of the democratic institutions, rights and freedoms.

Union Chairman Interviewed

PM1010114188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
9 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with Moises Labrana, chairman of the Federation of Chilean Copper Industry Workers and member of the United Trade Union Center of Working People of Chile leadership, on 8 October by own correspondent V. Kucheroov under the rubric "Santiago on the Line": "Chile: Step Toward Victory"]

[Text] Mexico, 8 Oct.—The headquarters of the Federation of Chilean Copper Industry Workers answered immediately. On learning that a Soviet correspondent was on the line, Moises Labrana, chairman of the Federation and member of the leadership of the United Trade Union Center of Working People of Chile, took the receiver.

[Kucheroov] First of all, Companero Labrana, accept my congratulations on the victory in the 5 October plebiscite. TRUD readers know that the Chilean working people have always been in the front ranks of the fighters against Pinochet's dictatorship....

[Labrana] We have waited 15 long years for this day. Many of our comrades did not live to see it. At the price of their lives, at the price of enormous efforts by the entire people, we have dealt a blow to Pinochet's regime from which it will hardly be able to recover now.

[Kucheroov] What forced Pinochet to acknowledge defeat in the plebiscite?

[Labrana] The unity of the opposition. The unity of workers, students, rural workers, housewives, and the intelligentsia. According to our calculations 54 percent of voters said "no!" to Pinochet and his constitution, "no!" to dictatorship. Here the people demonstrated cohesion. Nonetheless it is still not a victory, only a step toward victory. The next few months will be decisive. A new political situation has been created in the country.

The slogan "Pinochet must go at once" is being brought to the fore. He must go not in 18 months, not tomorrow, but now. The end to the dictatorship must come now.

[Kucheroov] What are the trade unions' tasks in the new situation?

[Labrana] We must now raise as high as possible the banners on which the working people's demands are printed. They include the ending of legal persecution of trade union activity, guarantees of its freedom, the immediate reinstatement at work of all those dismissed for political reasons, and the ensuring of the right to strike. Finally, we will demand the working people's participation in the formation of the future government. All this can be achieved only by expanding and consolidating the unity of the trade union movement. We took an important step in August this year, when the United Trade Union Center of Working People of Chile was created, uniting over 80 percent of organized workers. The problem of cohesion remains vitally important for the entire opposition. Only unified actions by millions of Chileans can lead to the restoration of democracy.

[Kucheroov] What is the situation like now in Santiago?

[Labrana] I have just returned from a demonstration in which over 1 million people took part. The entire O'Higgins park and all streets adjacent to it were turned into a human sea. This is the most imposing demonstration in Santiago that I can remember. The people are demonstrating the joy of victory and the determination to continue the struggle.

[Kucheroov] We share these feelings with you....

[Labrana] International solidarity has always played an enormous part in our struggle. All these years we have not been alone. Thanks to the working people of the Soviet Union and other countries for their assistance. May those in solidarity with us not slacken their efforts. The battle against the dictatorship is not ended.

Kamalidenov Receives Argentine Congressman

LD1110212788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] A conversation was held in the Kremlin today between Comrade Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Berhongaray, chairman of the Senate Defense Committee of the Congress of Argentina. It was stressed during the friendly conversation that a role of no small importance in the development of Soviet-Argentine relations in various fields was played by contacts through parliamentary channels. A meeting was also held today between Comrade Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Berhongaray.

Nicaragua's Ramirez Comments on U.S. Policy
*LD1010095788 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT
10 Oct 88*

[Text] New York October 10 TASS—The Reagan administration's anti-Nicaraguan policy has led to U.S. isolation in the international scene. This has been noted by Nicaragua's Vice President Sergio Ramirez in an interview to the American "NEWSWEEK."

"The obstacle to the peace initiative is the boycott of the cease-fire negotiations which the U.S. Government imposed through the contras," said the Nicaraguan leader. Meanwhile Sergio Ramirez expressed the hope that "this crazy idea of defeating the Sandinist Government with a mercenary army will be abandoned permanently." Eight years of war have shown that that is not possible and that it is the United States that has suffered the political and moral deterioration. Even the U.S. "most loyal" ally in the region, Honduras, has called for a U.N. peace-keeping force along Nicaragua's border to get rid of the contras.

"We hope that the next President of the United States will abandon once and for all the policy of the Reagan administration with respect to Nicaragua," said Nicaragua's vice president. "What we want in the White House is an administration that has enough understanding and humility to sit down at the negotiating table with the Sandinist Government," Sergio Ramirez underlined.

Soviet Army Political Workers Visit Cuba
*PM1310125588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Meetings on Island of Freedom"]

[Text] A delegation of Soviet political workers headed by Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, was in the Republic of Cuba 3 through 9 October at the invitation of the Republic of Cuba Revolutionary Armed Forces Central Political Directorate.

During talks with Division General R. Acevedo Gonzalez, chief of the Republic of Cuba Revolutionary Armed Forces Central Political Directorate, and other leading political workers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, there was an exchange of opinions on topical questions of party political work stemming from the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and the Third Communist Party of Cuba Congress.

The Soviet political workers visited military units and historical places in Cuba. There were meetings with the Revolutionary Armed Forces personnel.

The delegation returned to Moscow 10 October.

Haitian Communist Party Leader Interviewed
*PM1110160588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 4*

[Interview with Rene Theodore, secretary general of the United Party of Haitian Communists Central Committee, by own correspondent A. Kamorin, under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Calling": "Rene Theodore: Dialogue Is Possible"; date, place not given; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpts] Havana—Every other word in reports on the political situation in Haiti over the last few weeks has been "unusual" or "unprecedented."

The 17 September coup d'etat, carried out by sergeants and privates of the Haitian Army who handed supreme power to General Prosper Avril, is in many ways unlike the usual Latin American coup. The mass purge of supporters of Duvalier's tyranny from the armed forces, removal of commanders by soldiers, joint actions by residents of poor people's districts and Army subunits—none of this has happened in Haiti's history before. Another event described as unusual also happened a few days ago: Gen Avril and Joseph Hebreux, leader of the "Sergeants' Movement," met leaders of the Communist Party at the presidential palace in Haiti's capital within the framework of the nationwide political dialogue proclaimed by the new authorities.

Your correspondent discussed the details of this meeting with Rene Theodore, secretary general of the United Party of Haitian Communists Central Committee. [passage omitted]

[Kamorin] Comrade Theodore, now that you personally have met Prosper Avril and Joseph Hebreux, what is your impression of those people who now head the state?

[Theodore] They are quite open and frank people who, it seems to me, are sincerely striving to achieve national accord taking into account the interests of the most diverse forces and currents.

[Kamorin] The last few days in Haiti have demonstrated high activeness by the population both in the capital and in other towns. Specifically, residents are setting up people's tribunals and opening public trials of the "Tontons-Macoutes."

[Theodore] The people's tribunals emerged as a normal phenomenon in a country where the courts lost the people's trust a long time ago. The rebirth of justice is a most important task not only for the government but also for all political forces. I do not rule out that those selfsame people's tribunals can serve as a basis for the rebirth of a climate of genuine law and order in Haiti and for squeezing out those judges who were dubbed "justice businessmen" a long time ago.

[Kamoring] Gen Avril addressed the world community with a request for urgent economic aid to Haiti. He emphasized in particular that it is "poverty which prevents the people's self-realization and applies the brake to political changes." But the United States conditions the resumption of aid on the handing over to U.S. justice of Colonel Paul, who has just been dismissed as commander of the "Dessalines" Battalion and is accused of drug smuggling. What is your viewpoint on this matter?

[Theodore] Proceeding from the principle of sovereignty, we are against the extradition of any Haitian citizen to stand trial in the United States for a crime committed outside the U.S. Government's jurisdiction. Pressure by the United States can only exacerbate tension in relations between different army groups. Paul's dismissal is an internal affair of the armed forces, but his extradition would be a political step on a national scale. Drug trafficking is a most serious crime which is punishable both in Washington and in Port-au-Prince. Let the United States present its evidence and let the Haitians themselves decide the extent to which it proves Col Paul's guilt. [passage omitted]

Presidium Greets Brazil's Sarney on National Day
PM1310155788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the 166th anniversary of the proclamation of Brazil's independence—the country's national holiday—the USSR Supreme Soviet has sent President Jose Sarney a telegram in which it expresses congratulations and good wishes. The telegram expresses hope for a further expansion of relations of cooperation and a strengthening of mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Brazil in the interests of deepening the trust between our countries and peoples and consolidating international peace and security.

In his reply telegram, J. Sarney, writing on behalf of the people and government of Brazil and himself, expressed gratitude for the congratulations and confidence that his forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union will offer a fine opportunity to seek firm bases for further developing the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our countries for the good of both peoples.

Soviet Delegate at Restructuring Forum in Brazil
PY1010212188 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO
in Portuguese 8 Oct 88 p 12

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union places human interests and mankind's survival above class interests, and this change explains Moscow's new peace initiatives. This remark was made by Viktor Volskiy, director of the Latin American Institute of the Soviet Academy of

Sciences, who participated in this week's international seminar on restructuring. The event was sponsored by USP [Sao Paulo University] and CEBRADE (Democratic Brazil Center).

Without peace and life, there can be no revolution, observed Volskiy, who contended that the class struggle will continue, despite the fact that peace between the major powers and peaceful coexistence of ideologies transcend that struggle.

Volskiy said that to ensure world peace, which is fundamental, the United States and the USSR joined in "a marriage of convenience" intended to promote disarmament and erase sources of tension that could flare up into full blown war. "There is no love between the two countries, but there are no conflicts either," the Latin American Institute director said. He pointed out that the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl reinforced the pro-disarmament argument in the Kremlin. The Soviet professor also pointed out that the new philosophy defended by Gorbachev does not just apply to disarmament. According to Volskiy, the USSR has abandoned the idea that socialist revolutions should be exported to other countries. He said: "We do want to see socialism win all over the world, but we have to admit that revolution cannot be effectively exported."

As he recalled Lenin, the father of the Soviet state, Volskiy observed that because it can be financed, only counterrevolution can be exported. He put it this way: "The revolution cannot be financed because it exists in people's minds, and it will only happen when the idea is ripe."

In an interview with O ESTADO, Volskiy revealed that trade between Brazil and the Soviet Union has begun to increase. He mentioned the presence of Brazilian enterprises in the USSR, manufacturing blue jeans, instant coffee, and orange juice. He then recalled that a Soviet apple juice company is operating in Rio de Janeiro. "It is a matter of promoting understanding among people through juice drinking," he joked.

In the last day of the seminar in Rio de Janeiro, Sergey Mikoyan, director of the Latin America magazine of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, affirmed that in promoting restructuring, the Soviet Union is not turning toward capitalism.

He observed: "Certainly my words will sadden Western Sovietologists who visualize restructuring as a surrender to the capitalist system." He added that there are many people in the Soviet Union who hold the same notion. In a critical tone, he said, "those people cannot change a way of thinking that was shaped in the Stalin era."

Mikoyan took offense when a seminar participant asked him to compare the Soviet regime with the Pinochet regime. He responded: "The wholesome nature of our society is made obvious by the fact that it is not

frightened by self-criticism." He also denied that the Soviet Union's sagging economy has prompted it to take the initiative in proposing disarmament.

In the opinion of Tiit Made, economic adviser to the government of the Republic of Estonia, a major problem in the USSR is the low productivity of workers. He said: "Our workers' productivity is just 45 percent that of U.S. workers." He cited a study made in Austria showing that if the Soviet Union maintains that rate of development, by the end of this century its economic strength will be comparable to that of the PRC or India.

Soviet Participation in Brazil Railroad Projects
PY1110132388 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO
in Portuguese 10 Oct 88 p 14

[Text] Brasilia—The Soviet Government will definitely participate in the construction of the Transnortheastern Railroad, across Pernambuco and Ceara States, that will be connected with the so-called San Francisco River Grand Corridor. Late last month, Transport Minister Jose Reinaldo Tavares and Soviet Transport Construction Minister Vladimir Arkadyevich Brezhnev signed a protocol committing the Soviet Union to send a group of railroad construction experts to Brazil. This group, together with Brazilian experts, will conduct feasibility studies for the construction of the Transnortheastern Railroad, to begin early in 1989.

Minister Tavares explained that this study will encompass work planning, equipment and materials supply, construction and buildings, technology transfer, and other services. The Soviets will also participate in other railroad construction projects in Brazil, the North-South and East-West railroads among them.

Joint Venture With Brazilian Enterprise Planned
PY1110130388 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO
in Portuguese 10 Oct 88 p 15

[Text] Curitiba—Another step has been taken in the creation of a joint venture [preceding two words in English] between Schause S.A. Industria Mecanica e Electronica and a Soviet enterprise with the objective of manufacturing the Escriba telex machine, which has been develop by the Curitiba enterprise. A delegation of six Russian experts in computer science visited the enterprise to obtain knowledge of the production process.

Donald Schause, technical director of the Schause enterprise, has stated that the first contact was made last year during a communications equipment show in Geneva. For 8 months now a representative of the company has been in Moscow and the possibilities for creating the joint venture are good, mainly because draw back [preceding two words in English] can be used for our exports.

According to Schause, the enterprise's sales amounted to \$9 million last year and that it expects sales to increase to \$14 million this year on the basis of the success of the Escriba machine.

Boris Batalov, director of the Automatization Projects Department of the Soviet Union and head of the Russian delegation, has stated that the members of his delegation are very impressed with the country's advanced technology. "We have visited two universities, a research center, and the Cobra enterprise, and we are very interested in technical and scientific exchange between the two countries," Batalov said.

But, he continued, with the details that we have to have, Brazilian computer equipment costs more than equipment produced in the United States. According to Schause, this situation can be overcome through agreements to import Russian products.

Political & Social

PRAVDA Reports 14 Oct Politburo Session
PM1410093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] At a routine session on 13 October the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined questions related to the preparation of a CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations in the USSR. Emphasis was placed on the special importance and topicality of this problem for our multinational country under the conditions of restructuring, democratization, and the creation of a rule-of-law state.

It was noted that during the years of Soviet power work of historic importance has been performed to resolve the nationalities question in the USSR and impressive results have been achieved in attaining the actual equality of nations and ethnic groups, strengthening fraternal relations between the peoples, and ensuring the working people's international education. These results are a subject of legitimate pride for all Soviet people. But many questions requiring solution have accumulated gradually in the development of inter-nation relations. Basing ourselves on what has been achieved and drawing lessons from the past, in the process of restructuring we must raise all work on the improvement of inter-nation relations to a new standard.

The main thing is to achieve genuine harmony for the Soviet federation on the basis of the principles of mutual aid and fraternity, socialist internationalism, and a full consideration of the interests of each nation and ethnic group, to achieve the point where every person, regardless of nationality, feels at home in any corner of our fatherland. At the same time the intolerability of any attempts to exploit democracy and glasnost for antidemocratic purposes, to discredit our common international gains, and to sow international discord was stressed.

All work in preparing for the plenum should be based on the political instructions of the 19th all-union party conference. It was recommended that the broad party aktiv, scientists, and public of the republics be actively enlisted to preparing the plenum.

There was an examination of the state of affairs with regard to retail prices for consumer goods and charges for services to the population. During the discussion emphasis was placed on the important sociopolitical and economic significance of pursuing a retail prices policy which accords with the tasks of improving the people's well-being, implementing more fully the principles of social justice, and encouraging highly productive labor.

The practice of the unjustified raising of retail prices and charges for services and of improving enterprises' financial indicators by raising prices for the output they produce and by reducing the production of cheap goods in demand among the population was deemed inadmissible.

The attention of the union republic councils of ministers and local organs of management was drawn to the fact that they are allowing serious omissions in pursuing the prices policy locally.

The Politburo recommended to the USSR Council of Ministers that it take the necessary steps to further improve the economic mechanism with a view to encouraging the production of varied goods with a consideration of the needs of various groups of the population, especially families with many children and elderly and badly-off people, and to step up monitoring of the level of prices and incomes.

The Politburo agreed with the AUCCTU proposal to carry out a package of measures to organize public control over the work of trade and public catering, over enterprises' formation of the goods production structure, over the quality of the goods, and over the observance of prices discipline by state and cooperative organs. It supported the initiative for the creation of consumers societies and for the trade unions' active organizational role in this important matter.

The session analyzed the progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on the consolidation of military discipline in the Soviet Army and Navy. It was noted that attention has been stepped up recently toward questions of the consolidation of military discipline by military councils, commanders, political organs, and staffs. The demand on leading commander and political cadres for the specific results in work to maintain statutory order in units and subunits has been increased. The party and Komsomol organizations have begun to react more keenly to shortcomings in the service and personal conduct of Communists and Komsomol members, which has made it possible somewhat to reduce the number of occurrences of crimes and gross law violations.

Soviet servicemen have displayed a high standard of conscious discipline, courage, and staunchness in fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan, eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and in other extreme conditions.

At the same time it was stressed that the main task set by the CPSU Central Committee—ensuring the fundamental consolidation of military discipline in the army and navy—is being resolved only slowly. Instances of draft dodging, of nonstatutory relationships between servicemen, and cases of violation of the rules of combat duty and accidents involving combat equipment are causing grave concern. Formalism has not been eradicated in

political and military education, especially in individual work with servicemen, and lively communication with people is often replaced with far-fetched plans, numerous conferences, and the issue of orders and directives.

The CPSU Central Committee has demanded that the leadership of the Defense Ministry and Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate take a package of additional measures to strengthen military discipline. The main efforts should be focused on eradicating those negative phenomena which are having an adverse effect on the quality of the tasks which the army and navy are resolving and on their combat readiness.

The Communists who are leaders, the staffs, political organs, and party organizations are called on to ensure strict statutory order in every unit and subunit and to improve more actively the style of leadership of the troops. It is essential to enhance the effectiveness of all forms of educational work and to ensure that it effects a fundamental shift toward people. They must seek to ensure that every serviceman has a profound understanding of his patriotic duty and consciously and irreproachably fulfills the demands of the military oath and military statutes. The local party and soviet organs and public organizations have been asked to step up attention toward questions of preparing young men of pre-draft and draft age for active military service.

It is planned to implement measures to overcome the lag in the sociocultural sphere in the army and navy and to improve material and consumer provision for servicemen and their families.

The Politburo approved the results of M.S. Gorbachev's conversation and N.I. Ryzhkov's talks with Austrian Federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky during the latter's official visit to the USSR. It was noted that the summit meeting showed the broad mutual understanding on questions of world and European politics and the sides' desire for the further expansion of Soviet-Austrian relations, which could serve as an example of good-neighborly collaboration between countries with different social systems.

The results of L.N. Zaykov's trip to Poland to take part in the Moscow Days festival in Warsaw were examined and approved. The meetings with the Communists and public of the Polish capital attest to the growth of mutual interest in the experience of restructuring and socialist renewal. The prospects for developing Soviet-Polish cooperation were assessed as very favorable.

The session discussed and approved the results of E.A. Shevardnadze's official visit to France. It was noted that his conversations with President F. Mitterrand and other French statesmen revealed mutual interest in improving the standard of Soviet-French dialogue and improving bilateral business cooperation. The forthcoming meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand are

designed to promote the expansion of spheres of constructive collaboration between the two countries in international affairs and to set a new political tempo for Soviet-French cooperation in various fields. Instructions were issued for the careful elaboration of the practical questions which will be submitted for discussion by the two countries' leaders.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo also examined several other questions of the Communist Party's domestic and foreign policy.

Newsstands To Carry Western Non-Communist Press
LD1310115688 Moscow TASS in English 1102 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—Newsstands in Moscow and the capitals of constituent republics of the Soviet Union will soon offer many leading Western newspapers for the first time since the early 1920s.

A TASS correspondent was told by Viktor Pukalov, who is in charge of foreign publications at the central press distribution agency Soyuzpechat, that the decision had been taken by the USSR Council of Ministers.

The foreign publications will be bought by the all-union association Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga which is part of the State Committee of the USSR for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade.

Earlier on, Pukalov observed, a small number of newspapers had been sold at hotels restricted chiefly to foreigners.

The orders have been increased from October 1, this year, for INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE (from 80 to 250 copies), TIMES of London (from 80 to 250), DIE PRESSE of Austria (from 60 to 150), and DAGENS NYHETER of Denmark (from 25 to 80).

500 copies of the West German paper DIE ZEIT and 250 copies of THE GUARDIAN (Britain) will be delivered daily.

Their price will vary from 80 kopecks to 1.40 roubles (roughly 1.5-2 U.S. dollars).

The USSR will also buy the Finnish paper HELSINGIN SANOMAT, the Swiss NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG and the West German SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

The number of copies of the Western publications might seem insignificant at first glance, Pukalov said. "But that is not so. This is just a beginning. If the sale goes well, the question of increasing the purchase of these publications will be raised."

Journal To Publish Major Literary Works

LD1410101488 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT
14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—The Moscow literary magazine NOVYY MIR intends to acquaint readers this year and next year with new works by Chingiz Aytmatov, Vasilii Bykov, Valentin Rasputin, Daniil Granin, Viktor Astafyev and other renowned Soviet authors.

Sergey Zalygin, editor-in-chief of this popular monthly, said at a meeting with journalists that alongside works by contemporary authors, the magazine would publish materials of the literary heritage of Ivan Bunin, Maksim Gorkiy, Andrey Platonov, Mikhail Sholokhov and other prominent writers. Among the major coming publications of foreign authors is George Orwell's novel "Nineteen Eighty Four".

The magazine's edition has gone up considerably in recent time to reach a million copies. Zalygin holds that publicistic writings have largely contributed to this. "The events that draw keen interest take place in the process of perestroyka (restructuring). Authors cannot respond to them at once. Perestroyka cannot be imagined now without publicistic writings".

The editor-in-chief says that the magazine's key tasks are the same as that of the entire Soviet society—to educate people in the spirit of lofty humanist ideals and internationalism.

Zalygin said that NOVYY MIR intended to continue publishing literary works created in Russian abroad. "Our magazine can allow itself to publish only serious and significant literature. I hold that not more than ten to fifteen authors creating writings of this standard work abroad", Zalygin said.

Responding to a question whether speculation that NOVYY MIR plans to publish Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's novel "The Gulag Archipelago" was true, Zalygin said that this was not on the weekly's nearest plans.

Further on Ouster of Armenia's Mandalyan

PM1310112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent G. Ovcharenko report: "Armenia's Hot Fall"]

[Text] Yerevan—The situation in the republic and its capital has changed. There are no soldiers and armored personnel carriers at Zvartnots Airport, nor are there any in the city.

Yerevan's streets are unusually deserted in the morning—all the enterprises, transportation services, stores, and leisure services are working. Lessons are under way at the schools. They have started again at the VUZ's

too—admittedly, students mill around outside some of them, refusing to go into the lecture halls. But the square outside the opera house is virtually empty.

"Yes, the situation is getting back to normal and we are starting to breathe more easily, although our fall has been hot in every sense of the word," agreed F. Shiroyan, senior scientific worker at the Yerevan Institute of Precision Organic Chemistry. "You know, the televised speech by S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, had a sobering effect on many people. It straightened a lot of things out."

Yes, the newspapers carrying the texts of the speech sold like hot cakes. At lunch hour at a number of enterprises I heard how people approved of the speech. Just what did the first secretary say?

First and foremost, he made a frank and principled assessment of the situation prevailing in the republic over the last month. He stressed that the movement that had emerged around the Nagorno-Karabakh problem had burst its banks, absorbing currents incompatible with the Armenian people's national interests. An atmosphere of total license, covered up by phrases about "rally democracy," was whipped up at unsanctioned rallies. There were open calls to arms and appeals for the creation of Armenian military formations and for a struggle for Armenia's so-called "self-determination."

"Our people," S. Arutyunyan said on television, "resolutely reject these adventurist calls. We should all ponder the fact that irresponsible statements even by individuals cast aspersions on our national character."

I heard this very idea expressed by many people who cherish the prestige of their people, their interests, and the interests of the entire country. Supplies were interrupted and the republic became a hindrance to the country's national economic complex, losing its reputation as a reliable partner.

"Tell me, what foreign enemy could have done such serious damage to Armenia as we have done to ourselves with these loud pseudopatriotic appeals?"

That bitter question-cum-reproach from the first secretary is today being asked by many people in the republic. And those who answer it honestly realize that "rally democracy" and strikes are restraining progress. Especially since, in spite of how hard the ideologists on the "Karabakh" committee tried to spread malicious rumors about an alleged split between the republic's new leadership and the Armenian people, the facts prove the reverse.

Despite the difficult situation, people in the republic, as our newspaper has already reported, have managed in the space of a few months to resolve socioeconomic issues and embark on the path of the concrete revival of

social justice. Long-term tasks are also being resolved. Thus, all the issues linked with the problems of the operation of the Armenian AES and the development of new, ecologically safe energy sources have already been worked out in depth. Equally effective and comprehensively well-balanced measures are being implemented to save the jewel of Armenia—Lake Sevan. Over the next 2 years a circular collecting main [koltsevoy kollektor] will be commissioned, whatever the cost in effort. An integrated comprehensive program is being developed to improve the teaching of Armenian in all schools. The republic is seriously tackling unresearched periods of history—there should be no forgotten names and no valuable books or architectural and historical monuments that are excluded from spiritual life.

But in order to fulfill the planned program and clear up the pile of still-unresolved problems in the ideological, moral, and socioeconomic spheres, it is necessary to consolidate forces. Only then will it be possible to achieve a breakthrough in the struggle for restructuring. However, this is also understood by those who are not well disposed toward the changes in the republic.

Kh. Mandalyan occupied senior positions in the republic for many years. But people had long noticed that he used his position not for the people's welfare but for his own. They wrote to tell various organs and authorities that Mandalyan was imposing a bureaucratic work style and nominating cronies to leadership positions, cronies who were not always scrupulous in their actions. Thus, as first secretary of Yerevan's Leninskiy party raykom, he lavishly decorated his office and the raykom building. The R257,000 spent on this is still a debit entry on the books of the rayon repair and construction administration.

But Mandalyan got away with it all; the former leadership valued him. And they even nominated him as chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department. Kh. Mandalyan spread his wings straightaway. In the space of 3 years he managed to "nominate" to the Central Committee more than 10 workers from "his rayon"—his former cronies. Needless to say, restructuring promised nothing good for Mandalyan and his ilk. That is why they joined the ranks of those who are usually classed as antirestructuring forces. Many people realized this. Back in May, for instance, G. Kotandzhyan, first secretary of Razdanskiy party raykom, cabled the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee: "Mandalyan is using Yerevan party committees to turn Karabakh unrest into Alma-Ata-style events. Request action be taken." (The cable gathered dust in the desk of K. Demirchyan, former first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.)

But time showed that Kotandzhyan was right. Dismissed from his job as chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee department, but still chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Commission, Kh. Mandalyan—to call a spade a spade—

embarked on direct collusion with the "Karabakh" committee, which is now actively trying to get its people into the soviets. Together with V. Galumyan, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, he attempted the other day to hold a session of the credentials commission allegedly to check the results of elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Narekatsi Electoral Okrug No 111. The commission session was attended by just 6 people out of 14. Moreover, a group of outsiders was allowed in. Contrary to the actual results of the elections, confirmed by the okrug electoral commission, the members of the credentials commission fabricated entirely illegal "credentials commission session minutes" which, in violation of the provision on standing commissions and the republic's law on elections to the Supreme Soviet, illegally declared that a certain Kh. Stamboltsyan, a member of the "Karabakh" committee who was not registered and did not receive a majority of votes from the okrug's voters, was elected deputy to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The "minutes" were signed by Mandalyan and four members of the credentials commission, personally passed by Mandalyan to members of the "Karabakh" committee, and read out in his presence in Yerevan's Opera Square.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has adopted a resolution making a principled assessment of the actions of V. Galumyan and Kh. Mandalyan. It states that Mandalyan's statement that his actions were carried out under pressure from "Karabakh" committee activists is without foundation. CPSU Member Kh. Mandalyan deliberately staged an act of political provocation, which under the prevailing circumstances further exacerbated the situation and promoted the further inflammation of passions and emotions. V. Galumyan, member of the CPSU and deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was politically shortsighted and unprincipled, and thereby promoted the creation of an illegal and provocative document.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has expelled Kh. Mandalyan from the CPSU and deemed it inexpedient for him to continue in the post of chief of the Armenian Republic Territorial Administration of the USSR State Committee for Standards for having accepted and signed on behalf of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Commission an illegal document distorting the actual results of elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet for this electoral okrug, which was an act of political provocation and led to an exacerbation of the situation in the republic.

CPSU member V. Galumyan has been severely reprimanded and had his party card endorsed for failing to take measures to prevent the fabrication of an illegal and provocative document by certain members of the credentials commission and for the political shortsightedness he displayed in so doing.

An Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum subsequently approved the Central Committee Bureau resolution. That morning I witnessed numerous telephone calls to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee: People were supporting the Central Committee's firm position with regard to those trying to destabilize the situation in the republic. They were demanding that people not follow them. Especially as it would be naive to assume that Mandalyan acted alone or that the "deputies" episode was staged by just one or two people.

"People are of the same opinion," O. Oganessian, chairman of Abovianskiy Rayispolkom, said. "There is a lot of work ahead. We must get things moving again. But we won't be able to cope with this task if we are disunited."

It is a hot autumn in Armenia....

Yerevan Reports Arutyunyan's Factory Visits

NC1410102788 *Yerevan International Service*
in Armenian 1630 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] The Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee plenum in September, which discussed overcoming stagnant phenomena in the economic and social fields and improving the ideological-moral situation in the republic, became the topic of discussion at the United Political Day meeting. On that day, members and candidates of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and heads of ministries and main administrations visited production associations, establishments, scientific research institutes, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, went to Kamoyskiy region. An interesting and principled discussion was held at the (Gegema) production association about overcoming negative phenomena. Leaving the production association, Suren Arutyunyan spoke with a group of workers' veterans in the yard. The veterans view was this: The party and the people should know what is obstructing us.

During the discussion, issues pertaining to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem were also discussed. The first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee stated that thousands of proposals have been received from the republic's workers' collectives, aimed at promoting the establishment of economic and cultural ties with the oblast and the materialization of the decisions on socioeconomic development. Suren Arutyunyan pointed out that the Nagorno-Karabakh issue is the order of the day and is the center of attention of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and of the union's bodies.

Suren Arutyunyan also visited the Ayrvan (?meat) agrofirma. He became acquainted with the establishment's production and with its socialist objectives.

Yerevan Railroad Chief Discusses Operations

PM1210134588 *Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
12 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report on interview with A. Kandilyan, chief of the Transcaucasus Railroad Yerevan Section, by unnamed PRAVDA correspondent: "We're Armenians Too, Aren't We? Discipline and Organization by the Republic Railroad Workers Ensured Uninterrupted Transport Operations"—date, place not given; first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Text] Armenia experienced a harsh, hot summer. Events in Nagorno-Karabakh caused strikes, and an extremely difficult situation developed as regards the fulfillment of plan targets for the transportation of national economic freight. How are railroad workers coping with the situation, and what are they doing to ensure that the transportation system's heart keeps its regular beat? These questions from a PRAVDA correspondent were answered by A. Kandilyan, chief of the Transcaucasus Railroad Yerevan Section.

Even now, Ambartsum Agasiyevich said, we are experiencing serious difficulties with the unloading of cars along both the general-use track and enterprises' spur tracks. The situation is especially complex at Norashen junction on the Azerbaijan Railroad, where incoming and outgoing trains are operated by locomotive teams from the Yerevan depot. There were instances when some irresponsible individuals prevented locomotives from getting to their assigned trains and threw rocks at the engineers' cabins. Leaders of the locomotive depot section apparatus were sent to Norashen Station. As a result of joint efforts by railroad workers from the Azerbaijan Railroad and our railroad, the situation was brought back to normal.

It also became necessary to carry out explanatory work among conductor teams on the Yerevan-Kafan train service to ensure that they displayed restraint and patience. It was on this service that a group of hooligans smashed car windows and prevented the train's chief and its conductors from performing their duties. Help had to be sought from the transport militia. During that difficult time, workers in the Yerevan section displayed discipline, organization, and industry. They are well aware that any halt of the transportation conveyor belt entails truly unpredictable consequences for the economy of the republic and even of the entire region. This was why emergency measures were taken. All subdivisions of the Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Sanain railroad junctions functioned impeccably. Communist railroad workers mounted an around-the-clock vigil there to ensure that there were no interruptions of the transportation conveyor belt's steady pace.

To put it briefly, the railroad workers performed their duty to the republic, did not give in to provocations, and rebuffed the instigators. They also called on others to be sensible. Main production line workers were on strike in

many enterprises, but their transportation shops functioned. Passions flared up at Karimi-Blur station on 19 September because motor vehicle drivers failed to report for work. Up to 2,000 containers were stacked up waiting to continue their onward journey. They held industrial goods for which shoppers were waiting in the stores. A dialogue began between railroad crane operator A. Manukyan, freight controller A. Azizyan, and the motor vehicle drivers. The first two said: "Why should we be at work while you stay out? Do you imagine that we are not Armenians, too? No, we are proper Armenians, and we believe that only organized and sound work can produce positive changes for the better. Talk won't help, the work must be done!"

Agricultural produce is coming in a steady flow, and its onward shipment must be ensured without wasting any time. Intensive work is continuing to prepare boxcars and refrigerated rolling stock for the fruit and vegetables. The railroad workers performed and continue to perform their impeccable and organized operations in difficult conditions.

It must be noted that it was not only the workers involved in running the trains, but also the track maintenance personnel, power supply workers, communications workers, loaders, and crane operators who did not get involved in the rallies and strikes. Tens of thousands of tonnes of agricultural produce have already been shipped to Moscow, Leningrad, and other industrial centers in the country. The shipment of fruit and vegetables continues. It must be noted that the section employs representatives of more than 17 nationalities. They work at different enterprises and ensure the safety of train traffic. Track foreman M. Gasanov, who is Azerbaijani, and track maintenance team leaders O. Guseynov and A. Gasanov have earned a good reputation in every respect.

On the basis of the results of our work during the 1st and 2d quarters of this year, our collective was awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the Ministry of Railways and the sector trade union Central Committee. The 3d quarter is already over, and we can say that despite the extremely tense situation, our collective proved its viability yet again. All basic work indicators were fulfilled, and 78,000 tonnes of national economic freight were shipped in excess of plan. The above-plan profit for the 1st 9 months is in excess of R2 million.

Azerbaijan's Vezirov on Unrest, Reforms

LD1310194188 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1230 GMT on 13 October, as part of the "Azerbaijan Radio Day" programs, carries a 16-minute interview with A. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, by local correspondent Islam Kuliiev, entitled "From Slo-gans to Concrete Deeds."

Vezirov begins by outlining the problems in Azerbaijan. He says:

"We see in restructuring and moral cleansing the sole and only true opportunity to bring our republic out of the state of stagnation and to settle problems which have built up over the years. We must overcome negative processes and tendencies caused by crude mistakes in our socioeconomic and spiritual development. At a time of stagnation, the semblance of rapid movement left the qualitative aspects of growth in the shade and intensified the disproportions in the national economy; no effective steps were taken to improve investment and structural policy, or to improve the siting of production forces and the utilization of production potential. The economy lost its social orientation. In short, we have hardly begun to tackle the problems. What is especially disturbing is that there has been a devaluation of labor prestige, of honest work and professional skill, and it has resulted in a lot of dependence.

"It is also alarming that for many years the number of working population in the republic not engaged in public sector production has hardly fallen at all. The proportion of young people in this category of the population is too big. This is exerting a negative influence, and it creates favorable conditions for negative phenomena of all kinds."

Kuliiev notes that this situation is fraught with serious social consequences and that words are more and more at variant with deeds. Vezirov continues to elaborate:

"Despite sweeping assertions about successes in the economy and a healthier moral climate, negative phenomena were becoming more and more widespread, and violations of Soviet laws multiplied. People were losing faith in social justice. We could not live like that any longer. At a plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, we made a profound analysis, with a feeling of great responsibility, of the state of affairs both in the party organization and in the republic as a whole; we examined it from positions of principle. A program of priority practical actions to implement the tasks of restructuring and the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference was elaborated."

Kuliiev then recalls Vezirov's work as a Komsomol official, and the difficult situation in which Azerbaijan found itself at the time of his return there. He notes Vezirov's frequent direct contacts with working people. Vezirov speaks of his deep impressions from these encounters and praises the current atmosphere of glasnost and democratization in which people express their views openly. People have taken the course of restructuring to heart, he says, and this is the guarantee of success in overcoming the remnants of stagnation. Economic reform is also vital. One-third of enterprises and associations, producing over 60 percent of industrial output, are working in the new conditions. But, Vezirov says, some negative aspects of the situation remain. He

explains: "However, at a number of enterprises, the transition to the new economic levers has made their performance even worse. The reason is that they have not learned to go into economic questions in depth. It turns out that it is not simple to reject command methods of management once and for all. We still have many collectives which are lagging behind. One industrial enterprise or construction detachment in six in the republic is making a loss." But, he says, there are also many good examples and direct ties with foreign firms are expanding. "We are concerned with the state of affairs in agriculture, and animal husbandry in particular," Vezirov said. "There are many unprofitable sovkhozes and kolkhozes in the republic, and promising forms such as cooperatives, lease contracting, and family contracting have still not reached their full potential."

Vezirov then goes on to talk about the problem of food production, saying:

"Considerable production potential had been created in the agrarian sector, and vast funds have been invested in land improvement, but so far we have not gained the desired results. We are reaping the bitter fruits of voluntarist approaches and self-willed decisions. While we chased after an unjustified expansion in the production of cotton and grapes, areas under grain and feed crops were cut drastically, and forests were uprooted. The unbridled application of pesticides and herbicides has led to dangerous pollution of land and water. Now much is being done to put things right and to prevent a repetition of the mistakes of the past."

Kuliyev then recalls the direct phone line via which citizens can speak to Vezirov, and asked him what he has learned through this. Vezirov says that questions on a wide variety of topics came up, and that he heard some very useful suggestions. He says that most of the critical remarks concerned the social sphere. The standard of living in Azerbaijan over the past 15 years has remained below the USSR average, and the gap has in fact increased by 70 percent, Vezirov says. Economic and social development must go hand in hand. The shortfall in housing for the population in the last three 5-year plan periods amount to 42,000 apartments, and there are not enough facilities for child care. The aim of providing flats by the end of 1991 for all who were reckoned to need one in 1986 has been set, and it is planned to put 14 million square meters of housing into use in the current 5-year plan period; Vezirov says that this is 80 percent more than in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

Vezirov recalls, however, that the republic has recently been criticized for slow construction of social facilities in the rural areas and of processing capacities for agricultural produce. He goes on to say: "In 2 years, only 72 percent of the funds allocated to these aims have been taken up." Steps are being taken to put this to rights, and a plan to develop mountain areas by the year 2000 has recently been adopted. One priority task is to see that

young people have all they need in education, work, and leisure. Efforts are being made to ensure that school leavers only get into college on academic merit, Vezirov concludes.

Kuliyev states that the republican broadcasting organization has received many letters of praise because of the expansion of children's health facilities by using former guest houses and administrative buildings. He then brings up the subject of the ecological problems in towns.

Vezirov names a number of towns with serious pollution problems, saying that it is a patriotic duty to improve the state of the Caspian as well.

Kuliyev then changes tack and recalls Vezirov's recent PRAVDA interview, entitled "Much Work to be Done." Vezirov replies: "The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0] is well known in the country. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision on 18 July this year on the NKA0, which is wholly and fully in accordance with the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and the supreme interests of our state, has been received with immense satisfaction by the working people of our republic. It has become a matter of honor for party, soviet, and economic bodies of Azerbaijan to rigorously implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the NKA0 and of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-95. Quite a lot has already been done, but even more must be done in the very near future.

"Our republic is a land of glorious revolutionary traditions. It is here that the legendary Baku Commune was born and operated, which taught a lesson in how to approach the solution of the nationalities issue in the region. Today, in the period of renewal, of the assertion of new thinking, we are treating attentively and sensitively the national features of all the peoples who reside in Azerbaijan, their languages, traditions, and their representation in party and soviet bodies and in public organizations. The recent session of the commission of the republican Supreme Soviet on issues of interethnic relations and internationalist education, at which this question was examined in detail and productively, was very useful. We will do all we can to see that people of all nations and nationalities—and we have about 100 of these in our republic—always feel themselves to be equal members of a united family." Vezirov hopes that all kinds of organizations and cultural and scientific figures will help in internationalist education.

Kuliyev cites the need to select cadres carefully. Vezirov notes that they must be very competent and dedicated to restructuring. New approaches must be sought to see restructuring through, he says, and repeats commonplaces about increasing the people's role in government of the state.

Finally, Kuliiev notes the title of the main Azerbaijan radio program to be broadcast today: (?Namus)—a matter of honour. Vezirov says that today it is "a matter of honor for the party organization of Azerbaijan, of every worker in the republic, to make a worthy contribution to implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and to make the process of revolutionary restructuring irreversible. It is correctly written that every deed has its specific doer, and hence a specific person responsible for it. And for the precise evaluation of how a job has been carried out, there is the strictest criterion—one's conscience."

Azerbaijan Council of Ministers Official Named
NC1410101388 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
0440 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] The republic's newspapers report that the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Yevgeniy (?Protaliyev) as deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium.

Latvia's Gorbunov Cited on Popular Front
PM1410085488 *Paris LE FIGARO in French*
11 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium, by Denis Legras—date, place not given]

[Text] [Legras] Jan Vagris, your predecessor as head of the Supreme Soviet, has just been elected first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia. He could have combined the two posts, as Mikhail Gorbachev is now doing at USSR level. This is precisely what the secretary general wanted to happen at all levels of government, as he indicated at the CPSU "all-union conference" last June. Why has Latvia chosen a different course and decided to keep the two positions separate?

[Gorbunov] There is a fundamental difference between what is happening in Moscow and what is happening here. Mikhail Gorbachev has assumed the two positions with a view to the new USSR Supreme Soviet structures which will be adopted in the coming months. They make provision for a secret ballot for the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet and for the position of party secretary general. Here, we took account of the fact that the existing deputies were elected under the "old system," and we thought it was preferable to temporarily keep the two positions separate. The next elections in Latvia are scheduled for August 1989, and it is then that there will be only one leader here too. I personally regard this as the better solution.

[Legras] The Popular Front will put forward candidates for that election. It is obviously popular and could even have a majority in the future Latvian Supreme Soviet. Is it not likely to control the Communist Party to some extent?

[Gorbunov] The situation will be tricky. The party will be capable of exerting its influence over the Supreme Soviet. But if the Communist Party leader does not obtain a majority in the Supreme Soviet for his investiture as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the party will have to decide whether or not to maintain him in his post or to choose somebody else. That is why the Popular Front has the role of criticizing the leaders and their policy when it does not correspond to its aspirations.

[Legras] Around 30 percent of the people now attending the Popular Front congress are Communists. There is reason to think that if the next parliament is drawn from this organization, it will reflect the same proportions; in other words, 60 percent of the deputies could be non-party members....

Difficult To Predict [subhead]

[Gorbunov] That situation cannot be ruled out. It is very difficult to predict what will happen next year. But I think that the percentage of Communists will be higher. Many of them are popular and respected. It is they who have the real power and, in their constituencies, they will have a majority if the people obtain the results they expect.

[Legras] Which of the suggestions put forward during the congress at which the front was formed strikes you as most feasible, and which do you think are most unacceptable?

[Gorbunov] It is everything related to the development of the democratization process which strikes me as most feasible. There has been a vote on a new law on the judiciary, and this is a step forward. The question raised on Latvian citizenship must be studied by experts. When we do nothing, "informal groups" take over, put forward their own solutions, and everything becomes more protracted and more difficult to settle. What is unacceptable, on the other hand, are the appeals we are hearing from some quarters for all those who are not Latvians to be expelled from Latvia. Of course, we must realize that the Latvians are experiencing a crisis (they are in a minority in their own republic—LE FIGARO editor's note). But threats will not provide a solution; they are unacceptable.

[Legras] When you, as official Latvian head of state, talk of the republic's independence, this word certainly has a different meaning for you than for some speakers at this congress. Would you envisage a truly independent and sovereign Latvia, separated from the Soviet Union?

[Gorbunov] It is obvious that everybody attaches their own concepts to notions like independence, citizenship, and national integrity. But, I repeat, it is impossible to predict what will happen in 10 or 20 years. As far as I am concerned, I am an official, and it is in that capacity that I will be answerable to the people. I would like to

strengthen this concept of citizenship, independence, and integrity through my own actions, and achieve concrete results. Hasty statements are often obstacles to practical achievements.

[Legras] At a time when the Latvians are regaining their national identity, their new Supreme Soviet chairman has a Russian name. Is this not rather inconsistent?

[Gorbunov] You are not the first person to say that. My family has been Latvian for four generations. I do not know what happened before that. We certainly came from Russia at some time. But I was born here, near Riga. I was educated in Latvian, not in Russian.

Draft Law on Estonian Language Previewed
*LD1310110588 Moscow TASS in English 1025 GMT
13 Oct 88*

[Text] Tallinn October 13 TASS—In the near future any citizen of Estonia will be able to speak his native Estonian language in any office or organization of this Soviet Baltic republic. This right is provided for by a bill on the language which is now being drafted. It will legally formalize the status of the Estonian tongue as an official language on the territory of the republic. The bill will be introduced for general discussion in the republic.

The local press repeatedly pointed out that the authoritarian nationality policy of the Stalin period and the extensive economic development with the concomitant process of the inflow of population from other regions of the country gradually resulted in the fact that the share of Estonians in the total number of the republic's population dwindled to 60 per cent. Estonia remains for the time being among "aging" republics: The age of nearly its every fifth resident topped 50. Taking also into account a constant rise in Russian-speaking population, threatening to oust the Estonian language from many spheres of life, the republic's public spoke out for legal formalization of the status of the Estonian language. It will be a language of government documents, protocols and business correspondence. The working group on language questions of the Estonian Supreme Soviet recommends establishing a list of professions, trades and posts requiring mandatory knowledge of the Estonian language and the Russian tongue as the language of communication between numerous Soviet republics.

This question is of special importance in the republic's north-eastern part. Now it is impossible to switch clerical work and business correspondence to the Estonian language due to the current prevalence of Russian-speaking population there. The working group recommends permitting there for the time being clerical works and business correspondence in Russian or any other language, enduring at the same time a chance for citizens to address offices and organizations in that region in Estonian for all who wish.

As for organizations enjoying the right of cultural autonomy, as well as children's establishments, educational institutions, the language of a relevant nationality should be the working tongue there. For instance, now Latvian, Armenian and Hebrew are studied in Tallinn in cultural societies set up by representatives of other nationalities living here. A thorough study of the Estonian language was organized in Russian-speaking schools, as well as at industrial enterprises and offices. The Tallinn teacher's training institute plans to put out an additional number of Estonian and Russian language teachers.

IZVESTIYA Reports on Ukrainian Plenum
*PM1210140188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Reinforcing Restructuring With Practical Deeds"]

[Text] Kiev—Work on fulfilling in the republic the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums is at the center of the attention of the participants in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum which opened in Kiev 10 October. V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report on this question.

The plenum was addressed by A.Ya. Vinnik, first secretary of Donetsk party obkom; Academician B.Ye. Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk party obkom; A.D. Dragolyuntsev, team leader at the "Voroshilovgradteplovoy" Production Association; K.I. Masik, first secretary of Kiev party gorkom; A.I. Goryainov, general director of Kremenchug's "AvtoKrAZ" Heavy Truck Production Association; A.S. Maselskiy, chairman of Kharkov Oblispolkom; V.P. Salo, Ukrainian SSR minister of construction; V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; P.Ya. Zayvyy, chairman of the 25th CPSU Congress Kolkhoz in Kirovograd Oblast's Onufriyevskiy Rayon; and others.

The decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums, the report pointed out, have given a powerful new boost to all work on restructuring. The conference, which formulated a concrete action program for the new stage of restructuring, confirmed once again that the party is firmly and consistently following the course of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress. This is also evidenced by the decisions adopted at the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum and the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session.

These decisions stem from the need to strengthen leadership of the most important sectors of party and soviet building and to step up control over the implementation of the restructuring policy with regard to both party and state organs. The election of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium was logical and expedient at this stage of improving the political system. This undoubtedly accords with the highest interests of our federal state and will help to enhance the CPSU's role as the political vanguard of society and to strengthen the soviets' prestige and capability.

What are the main conclusions stemming from the decisions of the party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July and September Plenums and from an analysis of the work under way in the republic to realize them? Above all, maximum specificity and business-like efficiency is to be imparted to all organizational and political activity in restructuring, and palpable practical results are to be achieved. In resolving prospective, long-term tasks, it is particularly important to thoroughly rectify the situation, above all with regard to satisfying people's everyday needs.

In providing organizational and ideological backup for restructuring, we must resolutely suppress attempts to discredit it, adhere firmly to positions of realism, actively involve more and more sections of society in the restructuring processes, broaden glasnost and democratization, and strengthen discipline and order. These are now precisely the urgent tasks of the day, and this is the political demand of the moment.

The plenum made an exacting and critical analysis of the initial stage of economic reform in the republic. It was pointed out that difficulties are gradually being overcome in the economy as a whole, progressive trends are strengthening, and the new management methods are gaining in strength. Since the beginning of the 5-year plan the plan targets for growth in gross social product, national income, and labor productivity in the national economy have been overfulfilled. In the space of 2 years and 9 months the average annual volume of industrial production increased 4.3 percent and labor productivity increased 4.7 percent—also considerably higher than the 5-year plan targets. The introduction of progressive base technologies has been speeded up, the time taken to start up production of new machinery and equipment has been reduced, and twice as many obsolete products have begun to be taken out of production.

There has been a substantial increase in the volumes of average annual gross output in agriculture and capital construction, and freight and passenger transport operations have increased.

Profits in the national economy exceeded the planned profits by R3.5 billion, or 3.7 percent.

Positive processes are also taking place in the social sphere, and there has been a considerable increase in capital investments aimed at developing and strengthening its material and technical base.

Thus, good foundations have been laid at the first stage of the economic reform for successfully resolving the vitally important tasks of restructuring. Nevertheless, in many respects the republic's national economy is continuing to take the extensive path and mainly retains its cost-based nature. This year 1,300 enterprises and organizations are working at a loss. One labor collective in every five fails to fulfill its delivery pledges and the profit plan.

The conclusion from this is unequivocal: Radical changes in the republic's economy are still taking place only slowly, particularly if you judge them by the end result—a real rise in working people's living standards.

The work of ministries, departments, and economic organs is being restructured in a creaking fashion. The republic's government, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and his deputies are slow to overcome the difficulties of the transitional period. Therefore the measures taken frequently fail to produce the expected results. Many local soviets do not exercise in full their coordinating role in resolving economic problems.

The year 1989 will see the end of the transfer of all production sectors of the national economy to the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. So it is extremely important to ensure enhanced production profitability and, above all by reducing expenditure, to account for the use of resources, to step up the struggle for observance of contract pledges, and to make full use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The report and the speeches emphasized that people judge the results of restructuring above all by real changes in their everyday life. Therefore the fundamental sociopolitical question now is to increase production and improve supplies of foodstuffs to the population. The work being done in the republic has made it possible to somewhat improve the population's food supply over the past 2 years. And yet the problems with sales of meat and certain dairy products have not been resolved.

It is difficult but possible to rectify the present situation regarding meat production if we take a new approach to the matter, realizing in full the tremendous potential enshrined in the new economic mechanism of management. This means, above all, developing the lease contract and other progressive forms of labor organization and management. However, the oblast agro-industrial committees and the leaders of the republic Gosagroprom—Yu.A. Kolomiets, A.N. Tkachenko, and V.P. Sytnik—are not displaying initiative or acumen here.

Food questions are being resolved unsatisfactorily in Vinnitsa and Odessa Oblasts (L.L. Krivoruchko and A.P. Nochevkin, party obkom first secretaries).

Working people are continuing to complain about interruptions in trade even in goods of which there are plenty.

The resolution of the Food Program requires joint actions by urban and rural working people. Therefore we must develop in every possible way the initiative of enterprise collectives in Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhye, Kharkov, and Kiev which have outlined specific programs for increasing food resources, are implementing them together with rural workers, and are increasing capacities for the processing and storage of agricultural products.

The housing problem is one of the most important. The comprehensive targeted program "Housing-2000" is consistently being implemented in the republic to resolve it. Local organs of power bear the chief responsibility for realizing this program. Unfortunately, people are not aware of this everywhere. Thus, state capital investments and enterprises' funds for housing construction are not being assimilated this year in Ivano-Frankovsk, Kirovograd, Sumy, and Cherkassy Oblasts. Cooperative housing is being constructed with great laggardness in Zhitomir, Zaporozhye, and Rovno Oblasts, as are individual houses in Sumy and Khmelnytskyi Oblasts.

Special attention must be devoted to implementing the comprehensive program drawn up in the republic for the countryside's social development. It was stated that only half as much housing is being constructed per rural dweller as per urban dweller in Vinnitsa, Khmelnytskyi, Chernigov, and other oblasts.

The state of the consumer market can serve in many respects as an indicator of the efficiency of work on restructuring. Despite the measures being taken by the republic Central Committee and government, the population's effective demand for goods and services is not being satisfied. This is largely accounted for by entrenched underestimation by the republic Gosplan, ministries, and departments of the socioeconomic and political significance of developing consumer goods production. Far from full use is being made of the cooperative movement's broad potential. G.V. Dzis, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, who is entrusted with tackling this important work, is coping with it badly.

The plenum participants devoted considerable attention to work on restructuring the activities of party organs and enhancing the role of the soviets. It was pointed out that the reform of the political system will require the adoption of responsible decisions and major legislative acts at both union and republic levels. But much can and

must be done right now. The command and order style is gradually being overcome, albeit more slowly than we would like, and the flow of paper is being reduced.

The report pointed out that during the first 9 months of this year the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat reduced the number of decisions adopted by almost one-fourth. The number of memorandums, briefings, and information reports also diminished by approximately the same amount. Similar work is being done in the majority of party obkoms. But many leaders both at the center and in the provinces are still finding it hard to overcome established stereotypes. This is particularly obvious in the work of the Zaporozhye party obkom bureau and its first secretary A.P. Sazonov, Voroshilovgrad Oblast's Troitskiy party raykom, and a number of other party committees.

The functions of party organs are changing under conditions of deepening restructuring and the implementation of the reform of the country's political system. With regard to this we are faced with great and responsible work on creating the new structure of the apparatus of party committees, which must be carried out before the start of the report and election party conferences.

In improving the structure of central committees and local party organs, we must proceed from the premise that they have their chief impact on the state of affairs and on the course of restructuring, above all, through party organizations, in which report and election meetings are now being held.

The question of candidacies for election as party obkom, gorkom, and raykom first secretaries is acquiring exceptional significance. Coming into force next year is the statute whereby they are to pass an examination also before a wide circle of voters in elections of soviet leaders.

As the resolution of the 19th party conference emphasizes, ensuring the soviets' sovereignty in the life of our society is a decisive area of the reform of the political system. Soviet organs in Ternopol Oblast, Donetsk, Khmelnytskyi, Sevastopol, and Kiev's Leningradskiy Rayon, for example, are operating fruitfully. Much that is useful is being done not only in large cities. Kherson Oblast's Skadovsk Gorispolkom, for example, assimilates 8-10 times more funds than are allocated under the plan in providing the city with public services and amenities, thanks to enterprises.

Are all the soviets ready today to shoulder the heavy burden being transferred to them in connection with the delimitation of functions between party and state organs? Let us be frank: Not all, not everywhere, it was pointed out at the plenum. The work of many soviets, particularly their ispolkoms, departments, and administrations, is still being restructured slowly and with difficulty. Far from all ispolkom workers have rid themselves of the habit of evading the resolution of urgent problems,

hiding behind the backs of party organs, and taking refuge in endless exercises in agreeing and coordinating. Therefore one important task is to reinforce the soviets with workers capable of acting with initiative, adopting decisions knowledgeably, and assuming responsibility.

The republic Supreme Soviet and its Presidium are faced with fulfilling great work in connection with the reform of the political system.

Work is already under way in the republic to revise the existing legal norms and bring them fully into line with the requirements of our society's modern development. At the same time we must not lose sight of another aspect—enhancing the population's knowledge of the law, ensuring that citizens fulfill their duties with regard to society and the state, and stepping up control over observance of working people's legitimate interests.

Problems of the renewal of all ideological work are organically combined and on a par with the radical economic reform and the democratization of social life. Qualitative changes in the spiritual sphere require party organizations and ideological cadres to be able to analyze public opinion, know people's sentiments, and build the educational process with due regard for this.

The republic's party committees have always devoted and continue to devote special attention to implementing the CPSU's nationalities policy. This work has become considerably more active recently, particularly since the adoption of the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolutions. But not all the problems have yet been resolved. As already pointed out in Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee documents, shortcomings and miscalculations occurred in the past and led to an unjustified narrowing of the Ukrainian language's sphere of application. This is now being rectified. Showing concern for the development of the Ukrainian language and culture, it is important to take into account the fact that language problems affect the interests of millions of people of different nationalities living in the Ukraine. Therefore proper attention will continue to be devoted to studying the Russian language as a proven means of interethnic communication.

The plenum discussed problems associated with the restoration of national monuments, the unsatisfactory condition of many historical sites and reservations, and environmental pollution.

Questions of the work of the mass media under conditions of deepening democratization and glasnost were examined.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's organizational plan for the practical realization in the republic of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums was approved.

On 11 October the participants in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum listened to and discussed an information report by V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, on measures to improve food supplies for the republic's population.

The plenum adopted a decision on Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee commissions in the most important areas of party political work.

PRAVDA Cites Decisions

*PM1410083788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by PRAVDA correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov: "At the Turning Point; Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Kiev—There was much discussion about the republican party organization's work and vital tasks at a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Its participants heard and discussed the report "On Work in the Republic To Fulfill the Decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums" by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Now it is necessary to make restructuring more dynamic while resolving lasting, long-term tasks and sharply correcting the situation—this thought ran through the report and speeches of the plenum participants.

Since the beginning of the 5-year plan the new economic methods which have been gathering strength have helped overfulfill the plan targets for the growth of global social product, national income, and labor productivity in the republic's national economy. All this has had a positive impact on the social sphere. Capital investments totaling R4.8 billion more than envisaged by the 5-year plan will have been used to develop and strengthen its material base over the 3-year period.

Nevertheless, the republic's national economy largely continues to travel the extensive path [of development] and remains cost-based.

Analyzing the reasons for the shortcomings, the plenum stated that not all the elements of the new economic mechanism have yet been fully activated, only less than half of industrial enterprises have switched to the new conditions, many party committees have still not abandoned administrative edict methods, and the restructuring of the work of ministries and departments work is proceeding at a snail's pace. It was said that the republic's government, V. Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and his deputies are slow in overcoming the difficulties of the transitional stage.

The speakers expressed concern about the fact that, despite the growth of the Ukrainian agro-industrial complex' potential, the increase in production of agricultural output and improvement in supplies to the population, particularly supplies of meat and some dairy products, are by no means progressing at the necessary pace.

It was noted that at the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum Vinnitsa, Kirovograd, and Chernigov Oblasts were justly criticized for the decline in gross harvests of basic agricultural crops and the slow pace of development of livestock raising. In this connection particular alarm was expressed at the state of affairs in Vinnitsa Oblast, which has at its disposal significant potential for carrying out agricultural production. The party obkom and the oblispolkom are not leading social restructuring in the countryside satisfactorily. The main point is that the oblast's leaders and party Obkom First Secretary L. Krivoruchko personally fail to display a critical attitude toward their own work.

Serious attention at the plenum was also paid to other aspects in improving the population's well-being. In particular, the leaders of ministries, departments, and local soviets concerned with organizing trade have a lot to answer for. Even goods which are in plentiful supply are sometimes not on sale in stores in many oblasts.

Dwelling on tasks to accelerate the pace of housing construction, increase the output of consumer goods, and expand the services sphere, the speakers demanded that more initiative and resourcefulness be demonstrated and fuller use be made of local resources. Mention was made of a positive example whereby it was possible to seek out resources and capacities for above-plan production of consumer goods worth R1.9 billion this year. The development of the cooperative movement requires the greatest attention. But G. Dzis, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, who was instructed to deal with this matter, is not coping well.

The plenum participants connected success in fulfilling the diverse national economic tasks with stepping up restructuring in party organs' activity, with increasing the role of soviets, and with other practical measures to implement the reform of the political system.

Over the first 9 months of this year the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat reduced the number of decisions adopted by almost one-fourth. The number of memorandums, bulletins, and reports was reduced by approximately the same amount. Similar work is under way in most party obkoms. But it was said that there is still insignificant progress in the Zaporozhye party obkom bureau's style of work. First Secretary A. Sazonov, despite repeated criticism, has still not abandoned his attempts to resolve urgent problems on his own.

Party organs' functions are changing now that restructuring is deepening and the reform of society's political system is being implemented. In light of this a great deal of crucial work to create a new structure for party committees' apparatus lies ahead. Instead of 18 departments, it is proposed to have 9 departments in the structure of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus. The total number of senior officials is being reduced from 453 to 320, or by almost one-third. There will also be changes at the local level.

Discussing the problems of restructuring soviet organs, the speakers noted the positive experience accumulated recently by the soviets in Ternopol Oblast. The example was cited of Skadovskiy Gorispolkom in Kherson Oblast, which is assimilating via enterprises 8-10 times more money for amenities in the city than is allocated in the plan. But Rovno Oblispolkom was described in negative terms. The Odessa Gorispolkom was seriously reproached for inattention toward questions of social development.

The plenum participants discussed in detail progress in implementing the 19th party conference directives on improving ideological work and developing interethnic relations.

The plenum discussed and approved an organizational plan to implement the directives and decisions of the 19th party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July and September Plenums.

Ukraine Examines Problems of Large Families
AU1210155588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
7 Oct 88 p 1

[Unattributed report on the decision on the solicitude of the Rovno Oblast administrative and economic organs for the welfare of families with many children: "In the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] As reported, at its recent session the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the solicitude of the Rovno Oblast administrative and economic organs for the welfare of families with many children. In the adopted decision the session noted that Rovno Oblast soviets of people's deputies and economic organs worked to raise the living standards of families with many children, took care of children's education and training, protected the health of mothers with many children, and provided conditions favorable for their active participation in production and public activity.

At the same time the oblispolkom and many gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms still are not handling social problems concerning families with many children in a comprehensive and concrete way, are not persistent and consistent in accomplishing immediate tasks, and do not evaluate the state of affairs critically. As a result, many acute and vital problems concerning these families remain unsettled, particularly in the sphere of improving

housing conditions, medical services, and public education for children. Both the lines of families with many children and their waiting time for dwellings are growing longer. More than 50 percent of the oblast's children have not been encompassed by preschool establishments. One-third of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses lack such establishments. The norm set for the availability of children's beds in medical establishments has only been met 50 percent. The fluctuation of medical cadres is still high, and the staff of pediatricians is 40 percent short of the norm. Notwithstanding such a situation, the oblast's administrative organs are not taking effective steps to improve the situation in construction. In the 2 and 1/2 years of the current 5-year period, the oblast fell short of the target for utilizing state investments intended for the construction of social facilities by nearly R11 million. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian SSR Ministries of Health, of Public Education, of Trade, of Social Security, and the Ukrainian Union of Consumer Societies have been commissioned to take into account the specific demographic features of oblasts and to analyze the activity of their subordinate organs for the welfare of families with many children, as well as to give necessary assistance to oblistpolkoms.

The republic's Women's Council and the Ukrainian republic branch of the Soviet V.I. Lenin Children's Fund have been instructed to further invigorate their local organizations in children's education, training, and civil formation in solicitude for the health and welfare of mothers with many children, and in engaging the latter in socially useful work.

The Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and editorial boards of newspapers and journals are expected to be more active in raising acute problems concerning families with many children, and to elucidate the work experience of soviets and economic organs in assisting these families.

RSFSR Ministers' Presidium Holds Session
PM1310141988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A routine session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium has analyzed the work of the Kirov Oblispolkom in ensuring the oblast's comprehensive economic and social development in the light of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference's demands.

As was noted during the discussion, certain positive changes have been noted in the oblast, but they by no means match up to the potential and reserves for improvement which exist and do not meet the party's requirements. The oblistpolkom, judging from the report

by its chairman, V.A. Desyatnikov, has not been self-critical enough in its assessment of the situation and has not drawn up a sufficiently clear and targeted program. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium instructed Kirov Oblispolkom to considerably step up its organizational work to implement the tasks set by the 19th all-union party conference. Special attention was paid to resolving questions of the Food Program.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium heard a report from V.G. Arkhipov, minister of the fuel industry, on the sector's preparation to transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing. Serious criticisms were voiced. More than 20 percent of the sector's enterprises are failing to meet contractual obligations, approximately the same number are making a loss, the campaign to conclude contracts for next year is not complete, the use of efficient forms of economic accountability is lax, and losses of worktime are high. Minister Arkhipov's statement that before the end of the year the Ministry of the Fuel Industry will implement a program of measures to improve the sector's economy was noted.

There was an examination of the question of the condition of and measures to accelerate the construction and commissioning of health care and social security facilities in the Mordovian ASSR and Arkhangelsk and Kemerovo Oblasts. It was noted that the construction of the aforementioned facilities is proceeding slowly and is behind the planned commissioning schedule. This situation is typical of the RSFSR in general. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium instructed leaders of the subcontracting ministries to accelerate the pace of work at health care and social security construction sites.

Turkmen Leadership Views Aral Sea Problems
PM1410085588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Save the Aral Sea"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—Participants in the "Aral-88" scientific-publicist expedition met at the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee 10 October to discuss the republic's tasks in implementing the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures to Radically Improve the Ecological and Sanitary Situation in the Region of the Aral Sea, Improve Efficiency in the Use of Water and Land Resources in its Basin, and Enhance the Protection of These Resources."

The task of saving the Aral Sea is now being considered from the standpoint of an exceptionally solicitous, humane attitude to nature. The republic is drawing up a comprehensive program of water-saving measures which envisages fundamental changes in investment policy.

The meeting was addressed by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee.

CPSU Nationalities 'Expert' Interviewed
LD1310120388 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Interethnic relations are one of the most sensitive issues of any society. We have asked (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov), a senior official of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and an expert on this problem, to describe the state of nationalities relations in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted on (Mikhaylov's) educational background]

The 19th party conference in June adopted a special resolution on nationalities relations. What is the significance of that resolution and why was it called for?

[(Mikhaylov) in Russian, fading into superimposed English translation] It would be no exaggeration to say that the resolution marked a step forward in both the theoretical and practical bases of nationalities policy as part of restructuring. During the early years of Soviet Government, when Lenin headed the party and state, a scientific approach to the nationalities issue prevailed. Between the thirties and fifties, however, Lenin's approach to this issue were distorted and the principles laid down by him were grossly violated. The Stalin cult was to blame for that. Between the sixties and seventies these principles were also deviated from. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Industrialization was a vital need, but in carrying it out we went too far in certain cases. The problems hardly noticeable at the start have been piling up for a long time. They have now surfaced in Nagorno-Karabakh, Kazakhstan, in the Baltic republics. What is your view of a solution?

[(Mikhaylov)] The resolution on nationalities relations passed by the party conference calls for an economic reform that would account for the customs and cultural traditions of the ethnic groups concerned and ensuring the quality of all nationalities. The Russians have profound experience in farming, the northern nationalities in livestock and reindeer breeding. The greatest success would be achieved if each of these nationalities was allowed to do what it can do best.

Udmurt Prize Winner Writes on National Issues
PM0710133388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 p 1

["Watch This Space" article by writer Petr Chernov, winner of the Udmurt Komsomol Prize: "Suckers and Roots"]

[Text] National or nationalist...where is the dividing line? Until what point is it good, and at what point does it become bad? It is an open secret that national matters were in the past quite often proclaimed to be nationalist—and the effect of this can be felt to this day.

Last spring we marked the 90th anniversary of the birth of Udmurt poets Ashalchi Oki and Kuzebay Gerd. Ashalchi Oki (real name Lina Grigoryevna Vekshina) graduated from Kazan University, returned home as an ophthalmological surgeon, and spent the rest of her life working in isolated rural hospitals. She spent the war years in a frontline hospital. Kuzebay Gerd was not only an eminent literary figure, journalist, and teacher but also a folklorist, ethnographer, and historian. Even before the repressions had reached their height, Ashalchi Oki sensed the danger threatening free and original poetry and withdrew from literature. As for Kuzebay Gerd, he probably was unable to renounce his own identity, his literary and scientific activity, and his educational work and, in all likelihood, had actually no desire to do so. Back in 1932 he was accused of bourgeois nationalism and of planning the annexation of Udmurtia by Finland (!), was arrested, and was exiled to Solovetsk, where he died.

An abusive word and term—"Gerdovshchina"—was current in Udmurt cultural usage for a long time, right up to the sixties and even seventies. God forbid that any poet, prose writer, or scientist should be associated with pride in his people, their good customs and character, or their past. Nationalism!

Udmurtia's most talented and experienced writers were repressed in 1937-1938. Nor did the republic's leaders escape this fate. S.P. Baryshnikov, first secretary of the party obkom and active participant in the Civil War, was sentenced and shot, while Oblispolkom Chairman I.A. Nagovitsyn, a Bolshevik even before the revolution and former political emigre, was forced to leave Izhevsk.

The wave of accusations of nationalism and repressions abated when the war started, but swelled anew after the war. Accusations at that time were already being leveled at young frontline soldiers who were rash enough—there are no other words to describe it—to dabble in literature. Some of them were arrested and their lives were ruined.

Ashalchi Oki did not escape accusations of nationalism, either, but she did manage to avoid the camps. She was saved by her literary silence. According to people who were close to her, she expected to be arrested at any time, both before and after the war. Now the one and only book by Udmurtia's first poetess is periodically reprinted. Jubilee dates linked with her life are marked, and nice things are being written about her time and again: There is not even a whiff of nationalism in her poetry. But her poetry is national—about the soul of the people, their sorrows and their joys.

Books by Kuzebay Gerd and other repressed and now rehabilitated Udmurt writers are being published. Forewords to these books invariably state that the authors were sentenced even though innocent, and that there were no grounds at all for accusing them of nationalism.

A fear has been left over from those hard times: If you advocate something national, you'll be accused of nationalism. This is why only timid attempts are made to revive the centuries-old people's culture and their national awareness, and to restore their sense of national dignity.

And the strangest thing of all was that accusations of nationalism were leveled at a people who have never been against any other peoples, including the Russian people, since their incorporation into the Russian state in the mid-16th century. Since that time, they have never strived to become separate or isolated. Even when they were being squeezed out, they withdrew deep inside the forests and opened up new territories. My people were numerically small and nonmilitant.

Dissatisfaction developed by the mid-18th century, when two large plants were built on the banks of the Izh and Votka Rivers, marking the origins of today's towns of Izhevsk and Votkinsk. Land which had been developed by Udmurts since long before was chosen as the site for the plants. The local population was squeezed out. Naturally, they did not express any particular liking for the newcomers. The latter, feeling that they were in favor with the authorities, squeezed the former even further out. People resisted; there was nowhere for them to go. Hence the mutual insults and mistrust. It is to be assumed that the scornful and degrading overtone of the word "votyak" originated with the first workers and settlers brought by the Izhevsk and Votkinsk plants.

The tsar's investigative organ and trial court accused a group of Udmurts from Staryy Multan village of having sacrificed a Russian, a mendicant roaming the outlying countryside, to their unforgotten pagan deities. It seems to me that out of Russia's many oppressed peoples, the tsar's chauvinistically inclined servants chose to sacrifice one of the most inoffensive and meek peoples, feeling certain in their belief that they would win the case.

Progressive Russian people headed by V.G. Korolenko then rose to the defense of innocent people, the so-called non-Russians.

Is there any need to talk about all this today? There is—in order to cleanse our mutual relations of the social scorn allegedly bequeathed to us by our forebears. It must be overcome. Unfortunately leaders of the republic—including those directly responsible for the condition of ideological and educational work—the mass media, and representatives of the Udmurt and Russian intelligentsia pretend that this simply does not exist; and even if something like it does occur, it does not deserve to be treated as very important.

Yet the alarm should have been sounded long ago on issues such as the training of national cadres and the instruction of urban children in their native language.

Izhevsk does not have a single Udmurt school or creche-kindergarten. It might have been possible to explain this in the past (few Udmurts used to live in the city), but now one-third of all Udmurts live in the republic capital.

The situation regarding leadership cadres is none too good. I know of only three Udmurts among the republic's ministers and state committee chairmen.

Places are reserved for the republic in the country's major VUZ's each year for non-competitive admission of young Udmurt men and women, but as a rule they do not get these places—or at least those from the countryside, those who know the language and are prepared to return amid their people.

The material base of culture in the republic is weak. The proportion of Udmurt publications in the local book publishing house's plans declines every year, as does the number of hours of radio, and especially, television broadcasts in the Udmurt language. The print runs of Udmurt newspapers and journals are also on the decline.

Let us then speak about matters national without being afraid that we will be accused of nationalism—[otherwise] it is like "the dead having the living in their grip." National diversity is not "sedition"; it is our wealth.

Sverdlovsk Railroad Blast Aftermath Reported
PM1310090588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 9 Oct 88 p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Stakheyev: "When Will the Disaster Teach a Lesson?"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—Sverdlovsk is recovering from the explosions. A few hours after the catastrophe the movement of passenger and freight trains was restored. The situation has also changed in the regions which suffered most. Today they are more reminiscent of an enormous construction site than anything else. Cranes, dumpers, bulldozers, and thousands of workers are engaged in leveling 39 totally destroyed apartment blocks while construction workers have also begun to repair 37 apartment blocks in a dangerous state. The work front is enormous. After all, in addition to these establishments a further 86 canteens, 37 consumer services enterprises, 7 hospitals, 108 stores, 8 schools, and 30 kindergartens suffered from the blast.

Today, under the leadership of a government commission, all these buildings have been studied and the volume of work has been determined and at the same time priority projects—hospitals, kindergartens, and schools—continue to be restored.

Today there are 14 glass factories in the RSFSR working entirely to meet the city's needs. Trains carrying construction materials necessary to eliminate the accident are making unscheduled stops on their way through Sverdlovsk.

And the inhabitants of the capital of the Central Urals are not abandoning their fellow countrymen in their misfortune. A special account for aid for the victims has been opened. Truck driver Valeriy Bolonin has transferred R2,000 to it and the Sverdlovsk journalists have put a day's wages into it. About 100 volunteers have become blood donors. Every day the housing administrations present the keys to new apartments to families which have suffered. About 500 families will receive vouchers for housing in new apartment blocks.

The government commission is noting the selfless work of firemen, medical personnel, and militia employees. These people were the first to join the fight against the disaster and are fulfilling their duty excellently.

At the commission session you almost constantly hear people saying: "In Arzamas we did such and such, the situation there was such and such" and so forth. Yes, the events in Arzamas and Sverdlovsk do indeed have much in common and this comparison therefore seem doubly hard, offensive, and incomprehensible. How many tragedies do we need to rule out this kind of thing?! After all, people are dying and the damage runs into hundreds of millions of rubles! And the morale of the inhabitants of this enormous city: There is alarm and uncertainty as to whether something similar will not happen tomorrow. I asked USSR First Deputy Minister of Railroads G.M. Fadeyev, chairman of the departmental commission for investigating the tragedy, to tell me what actually happened at Sverdlovsk shunting yard.

So far the basic story of the accident is as follows.

Station duty officer T. Khamova radioed instructions to locomotive driver V. Pimenov to take from the third track rolling stock, at the front of which were two cars containing explosives. One contained trotyl, the other hexogen. The driver put the locomotive on this track and waited for the order to couple from T. Khamova. Without making sure this had been done, T. Khamova issued the instruction to release the automatic brakes and remove the blocks from under the cars, and the rolling stock moved off. Realizing the mistake she had made, T. Khamova immediately asked the yard locomotive: "You didn't actually couple the locomotive to the rolling stock!" "There's explosive there!" "Catch up with it immediately!"

The locomotive driver did what he could to begin to rectify the duty officer's fatal error. The locomotive did in fact catch up with the rolling stock and was even coupled to it, but it could no longer stop the cars. Signalman R. Neugodnikov even at that moment was able to put three blocks under the cars. But it was already too late....

At 0230 Moscow time a terrible explosion thundered out.

The degree of culpability of these workers will only be determined by an expert commission and court. But today, said O.I. Lobov, chairman of the government commission and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, fundamentally different cars are needed for shipping explosive, whose use would absolutely rule out such incidents.

Further on Investigation

PM1310154588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent D. Usachev "Conversation With Members of the Government Commission": "After the Accident in Sverdlovsk"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; date not given]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—The explosion in Sverdlovsk that resulted in casualties, serious devastation, and material damage had broad repercussions. The editorial office continues to receive letters and telephone calls. People are worried about the fate of the victims and are interested in the progress of the work to eliminate the consequences of the catastrophe. Each time the following questions can be heard: "How could it have happened?"

The government commission working in Sverdlovsk has just finished its investigation into the causes of the accident. Our correspondent asked the members of the commission to comment on its conclusions.

This is what G.M. Fadeyev, USSR first deputy minister of railways, said:

We are perfectly well aware that the commission bears a great responsibility for providing an objective assessment of the reasons for and circumstances behind the explosion. The correctness of the subsequent conclusions and measures depends on this. It is important that nothing of the kind happens again. The commission has questioned a large range of people, listened to eyewitnesses and officials, and familiarized itself with the technical documentation regulating work procedures at the station. We have carried out experiments involving reconstruction of the accident.

In the commission's opinion, the most likely reason for the dangerously explosive freight to catch fire could have been, first, the effect on the explosives of the high temperatures that arose as the car's metal components buckled and broke on impact. The second possible scenario is that sparks from the closed-circuit contact system fell on the freight strewn over the car as a result of the damage to the car and the packaging. The third explanation is that sparks could have been caused by friction within the freight, friction between the freight and the packaging, or between the freight and the surface of the car when it was damaged.

One thing is clear for sure: The crash and the subsequent blaze took place due to very gross violations during shunting. Station Duty Officer T. Khamova (she is 35, has worked in this post for quite a long time, and graduated from the appropriate college) gave the order to release the car brake without seeing whether it was coupled up to the shunting locomotive. Let me add that the subsequent actions by those directly involved in the accident were correct. The engineer caught up to the "runaway" car and tried to stop it by using gravel to slow it down, and the signalman managed to get chocks under it. The commission reckoned that they were 11 seconds too late to avoid the collision.

Of course, not every collision turns into an explosion as terrible as this. In general, freight should not explode. We visited the plant that produced the explosive output shipped by railroad. Incidentally, the conditions for packaging the output, the systems for loading it onto freightcars, the quantity of explosive loaded, and even the very type of car in which the explosive can be shipped—everything is determined from start to finish by the manufacturing plant.

It is typical that the precautions are very, very strict at the enterprise itself. Everything is done to ensure that there are no sparks and that so-called stray currents don't arise. The quantity of explosive stored in a single place is strictly regulated. But a car arrives at the plant and is immediately loaded with twice the quantity of explosive that is stored in the plant's intermediate store. Why is that? You would have thought that the freight was in very little danger at the plant, yet more precautions are taken when storing it than in the freightcars. People in the enterprise workshops don't even breathe on this freight, but the car only has to be taken out of the plant gate for safety requirements to drop abruptly. There is nothing criminal about a 3,000-volt contact circuit being suspended over a carriage carrying dangerous freight. Or encounters between trains and lines scattering sparks. There are hundreds and thousands of intersections ahead on the line where, alas, collisions with slow-moving automobiles do still happen.

Of course, the creation of safe ways of shipping explosives would necessitate some expenditure; moreover, not inconsiderable expenditure. But is this expenditure comparable to the losses that we incurred in the accident at Sverdlovsk? Specialists claim that the railroad has never witnessed destruction on a scale as that which occurred in this city. Even Arzamas does not compare: The city's buildings and structures suffered less damage. Where people's lives are concerned it sounds blasphemous to talk about expense.

In any event, freight has to be prepared for transportation. Current state standards for the production and shipping of explosives do not require freight to be moistened or rendered chemically inert to ensure that it does not react to shocks and heat.

What conclusion have we reached? The freightcars' crash and the concomitant explosion at Sverdlovsk-Sortirovka Station occurred as a result of the combined breach of safety regulations during shunting work and the lack of preparations at the dispatch plant for the transportation of dangerous freight. In this connection the commission deems it necessary to immediately revise all-union state standards, tightening them up and adopting additional protective measures.

Second, special rolling stock must be created.

After the Arzamas accident the Ministry of Railways, together with other interested ministries and departments, elaborated and coordinated heightened demands regarding freightcars carrying dangerous loads. We agreed to create cars with automatic coupling devices to absorb greater shocks during coupling and to reinforce car side panels. But the ministry that produces this output has not even produced the technical specifications for the design of the special cars. Admittedly, after Arzamas this ministry leased 300 covered cars with the intention of somehow adapting them to ship dangerous freight. But is that really a solution to the problem?

However, a large group of investigators and specialists from the Ministry of Railways is examining the possibility of making a start by diverting trains carrying dangerous freight away from highly populated cities and major railroad junctions. Although this measure—unlike the first two—also has a substantial drawback: We would make cities with large populations safe, but what happens about small population centers?

A.I. Potapov, member of the government commission and RSFSR minister of health, also answered readers' questions about the consequences of the accident:

"On the morning of 12 October railroad gas welder O. Yefremenko, age 30, died in the hospital. Throughout this period he did not regain consciousness and was on a respirator. There have been five casualties so far. I know that rumors are flying around Sverdlovsk about dozens of dead. Many people wonder how there can have been such tremendous destruction and yet only five people died in the crash.

Several circumstances, in my opinion, saved the people of Sverdlovsk. First, it was nighttime: Enterprises adjacent to the epicenter of the blast were not working, there were no passers-by, kindergartens, schools, and stores were empty, waiting for morning. People were asleep and the "ricocheting" glass and other fragments scored no direct hits. Houses were on the whole not destroyed because many of them are of high quality. It is my opinion that the Ministry of Transport Construction special goods plant, which took the force of the shock wave, saved the settlement of Sortirovka.

However, there are no grounds for simplifying the situation: It is the first time that we have encountered such an effect on people. Of the 120 people hospitalized, 39 suffered eye injuries. While they were asleep, people were covered with broken glass and their eyes were injured. Three of those most seriously injured have been sent to Moscow to Gelmgolts Institute, where leading specialists in optical microsurgery are still fighting to save their sight. There are 28 people in hospital with injuries and skull and brain damage. Three are in a very serious condition; two, like O. Yefremenko, have not regained consciousness, and one is suffering from a damaged cerebral cortex.

At the institute for the protection of mother and child, 52 pregnant women from the affected area are under doctors' observation. Three women have prematurely given birth to fine healthy babies.

Many telegrams are now arriving from student medics, in particular from Tomsk and Leningrad: They are ready to come and give blood and help with treatment. Qualified medics from Kamchatka and Tallinn are ready to fly to our aid. Some 1,116 medics are now involved in giving aid to the victims. The requisite quantity of medicine and medical equipment has been shipped in in five special consignments from Moscow and Leningrad. It has proved possible to prevent outbreaks of infectious disease and food poisoning, and the incidence of infectious disease in Sverdlovsk is in fact lower than the mean for the last 2 years. At the same time the number of catarrhal illnesses among adults and, particularly, among children in Sverdlovsk's Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon has risen. Bad organization and open-air feeding arrangements are taking their toll. It is now very important to issue warnings about psychological disorders. There are instances of neuroses in children; the events of 4 October did not pass them by completely. It will be a long time yet before the wounds inflicted on the city by carelessness and sluggishness will heal.

Combating 'Flood of Rumors'

PM1410082988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Pashkov dispatch under the rubric "An Event: Its Essence and People's Views": "After the Accident"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—These notes were written after the Sverdlovsk party obkom bureau session which analyzed the causes of the recent accident at the Sverdlovsk-Sortirovochnaya railroad station.

People are asking me to tell them honestly, with my hand on my heart, what the press has not reported, what officials have suppressed about the explosion. This includes my family, friends, and acquaintances. Outrageous stories are pouring out as if from a cornucopia about 23 corpses pulled out from the debris, about someone having issued an order to keep children off the

streets, about a woman who said that five people died in her family alone.... The details are lurid, but strangely no names are named. A phenomenon developed in front of our eyes: After the explosion on the railroad there were many reports in the press, especially in the local press, officials were interviewed on television. But nonetheless....

It seems that from the very beginning, when the work of eliminating the consequences of the accident started, not one militia, fire-fighting service, railroad administration, party, or soviet official tried to conceal or cover up the scale of the accident. With every passing hour new details about the explosion became known—4 people were killed, 115 people were hospitalized, more than 1,000 required medical assistance. The following figures were cited—12 buildings were completely destroyed, 12 buildings will have to be demolished, 33 require capital overhauls. More than 360 buildings housing social and consumer facilities have been affected. However, the main thing was beyond doubt: The air had not been poisoned and large numbers of people had not been buried under the debris.

Yet the flood of rumors kept rising. What is the explanation for this?

It must be said that to some extent people have stopped believing the press, which for years suppressed such events or reported them in "telegraphic style." We newspapermen are not the only ones to blame. What amazed the inhabitants of Sverdlovsk from the beginning? It was the discrepancy between the scale of the accident and the declared number of victims. The essence here is not the bloodthirstiness of human nature, of course. The essence is amazement which has steadily turned into distrust. It is quite true that in terms of scale of the destruction of residential and industrial buildings this railroad accident is unparalleled. Apart from the aforementioned damage, a number of minor plants have simply ceased to exist. The damage totals hundreds of millions of rubles.

Neither the press nor the official organs have been able to eliminate this distrust. Sadly, to begin with they did not even try very hard, regarding public opinion by force of habit a secondary matter. What were the "fortunate" circumstances of the explosion that occurred? It ought to have been emphasized early on and with complete honesty that the explosion occurred in the early hours of the morning, when the production facilities, stores, cafes, schools, kindergartens, and so on and so forth were deserted. Another factor which had a bearing on the number of the victims was that people were sleeping in houses with a relatively small window area. Experts have put forward many theories as to why the explosion did not claim a massive toll in lives. One is that it was mainly wooden houses which suffered and they, as distinct from panel housing, do not fold like a house of cards. And panel houses, in turn, withstood the blast.

Why not tell people all this at greater length? And why not invite representatives of the numerous informal public organizations to come and inspect all the damaged homes in the company of militia and prosecutor's office officials, so as to be able to judge for themselves the authenticity or falsehood of the official data and then pass on this information to the citizens? At present there is no record of anyone being reported missing or buried under the debris. As for rumors, on the other hand.... And they circulate by no means only among small-minded people. There is only one way to get rid of the distrust which has built up over many years—broad, professional glasnost and openness.

Incidentally, there is also another fertile ground where rumors thrive. It is provided by our own bureaucracy and disregard of individual rights. The Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom Bureau session held to analyze the causes of the accident and decide on further measures to eliminate its consequences noted that the cargo which blew up the station had been loaded manually by people in white coats. And then it was transported by rail, virtually unsupervised, through the vales and villages of our vast motherland on an ordinary freight train, which thundered through major railroad stations. The recent explosion in Arzamas—the Arzamas warning signal—went unheeded. Now, according to the Minister of Railways, safety measures are being elaborated. However, is the price which society has to pay for such protracted deliberations not too high?

...Hundreds of families whose homes were damaged have received authorizations for new apartments. Hundreds more are still waiting for such authorizations. Some 120,000 square meters of housing is required to rehouse the needy. The pressure under which those who have to deal with this difficult task are working is quite understandable. On the other hand, dozens of people who have fallen into the bureaucratic whirlpool are being treated as if they were to blame for the accident....

I attended a consultation session for citizens held by O. Lobov, chairman of the government commission and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. People came to him mainly with housing problems and irregular or unusual circumstances: One had failed to register in time a relative who was staying with him, someone else's children were sick, yet another did not want to move out of the area.... None of the problems was insurmountable, but people were saying outright that there was a lot of red tape at the local level and that no one wanted to listen to them. Sometimes decisions made at a higher level were openly ridiculed: So a government commission has told you. You should be so lucky. They'll be leaving, but we have to stay here.

Sometimes, despite good intentions, citizens' elementary rights are infringed upon. For instance, one of the new houses into which the victims of the accident have been moved had been built with the participation of its future inhabitants. Some of them turned to the government

commission. O. Lobov asked L. Domarov, deputy chief of the railroad administration, whether he had discussed this problem with them. Is there an official document in which they agree to temporarily give up their claim to the apartments provided that they are subsequently given housing in a better area or even a larger floor space? Leonid Kuzmich was genuinely surprised: "Official documents? At a time like this?"

However, it is precisely at a time like this that it is so easy to create new problems and to resolve some people's problems at the expense of others, and that is intolerable. What is needed is great tact and an understanding of the situation—people have been rendered homeless not as a result of a natural disaster but as a result of negligence. And those who were hoping to obtain an apartment this year are also having to suffer through no fault of their own. This sort of problem cannot be resolved by pressuring people or by shouting at them, much less by means of bureaucratic arrogance.

It was emphasized at the obkom bureau session that what is needed is not only a large-scale effort to explain how the consequences of the accident are being eliminated, but also a serious discussion about the negligence and lack of discipline which caused it. The accident happened because of the carelessness of specific people. And another thing: Many casual, unskilled workers work on the railroads. There simply is no one else. Sortirovochnaya station area has the longest of waiting lists for housing, and there is a shortage of schools, kindergartens, and cultural and consumer facilities. This is why turnover here is great, this is why no one wants to work here.

Hundreds of thousands of rubles are pouring into the account which has been opened to assist the victims of the accident. In the light of sad experiences caused by a lack of glasnost, the gorispolkom has set up a public committee to distribute the funds. Money will now really reach the people. This is one example of how rumors can be combated.

Kuybyshev Halts Rail Shipments of Explosives

*PM1310134988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[Own correspondent S. Zhigalov report: "The Train Will Go No Further"]

[Text] Kuybyshev—Kuybyshev Oblispolkom has ordered a halt to traffic on the rail network through the city on which shipments of explosives are carried.

The railroad in Kuybyshev is crossed dozens of times by streets, roads, and avenues. Traffic jams build up at grade crossings. The rails are preventing the building of a highway in a new region—Samarskoye Zarechye—and a subway.

And the main thing is that shipments of explosives are carried on the railroad from one of the city's enterprises. They pass along the city streets and beside apartment blocks. Needless to say, all precautionary measures are observed and there has been no incident as yet, but who can guarantee this in the future? After all, we all remember what happened at Arzamas and quite recently in the Sverdlovsk region.

For more than 20 years now the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry and the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work have been promising to relocate unsafe production facilities out of town and eliminate railroad tracks in the city. In 1969 the Kuybyshev Gorispolkom decided to close spur tracks. A general plan ratified by the RSFSR Council of Ministers for developing Kuybyshev was drawn up on the basis of their closure.

The republic's Gosstroy, Gossnab, and Gosplan took part in resolving the problem. Numerous commissions churned out innumerable resolutions and protocols. Yet the building of raiaside warehouses outside of town and the organization of road shipments are still to be done.

Piles of resolutions have built up—it was a true classic of bureaucracy: "The Oblispolkom requests the USSR Council of Ministers to instruct ministries to close spur tracks effective 1 January 1985...."

"The RSFSR Council of Ministers requested the USSR Council of Ministers on 24 May 88 to instruct the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry and the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work to close down spur tracks leading to production associations." Years have gone by and the situation has not changed. But the times have changed and local soviet workers' thinking and conception of their role has changed.

The soviets, rather than the ministries and departments, are responsible to the voters for the city and the safety of its citizens. Purely on the basis of this evident fact and unafraid of spoiling relations with powerful organizations, the proprietors of the territory set a timetable—the first section of spur track should be closed in September. The departments concerned were given prior notice of this.

Bearing in mind the fact that enterprise administrations have repeatedly ignored rulings by the city authorities, it was decided to concrete over the rails. The transportation of explosives along the city streets has been stopped.

Slyunkov, Other Leaders Address Seminar
LD3009221488 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 30 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] Topical problems in propagating and implementing the materials and decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July and September 1988

CPSU Central Committee Plenums were examined at an all-union seminar-conference of lecturers of party committees and political bodies of the USSR Armed Forces held in Moscow from 26 to 30 September. The participants in the seminar were addressed by Comrades Slyunkov, Talyzin, Lukyanov, and Medvedev, by heads and deputy heads of CPSU Central Committee departments, and by ministerial and departmental leaders. The reports and lectures set forth the tasks for the new stage of the restructuring: accelerating the country's social and economic development; radically reforming of the economic mechanism and the political system; and democratizing the CPSU's leading role in society, its internal affairs, its ideological activities, and its international policy in the light of the new political thinking.

During the creative debates held within the framework of the seminar-conference there was a discussion of Lenin's conception of socialism, the CPSU's historical experience, the formation of a Soviet state based on the rule of law, intranationality relations, and the development of culture, literature, and art. There were deliberations on ways of restructuring propaganda lectures and the work done by lecturing cadres in the party committees and political bodies of the armed forces, and on stepping up their contribution to providing ideological backup for the tasks in effecting a revolutionary renewal of Soviet society.

Sakharov, Others To Form 'Open' Discussion Club
PM1310114288 Paris LE MONDE in French
13 Oct 88 p 5

[Bernard Guetta report: "Several Prominent Figures Including Andrey Sakharov Form Club To Support Mr Gorbachev"]

[Text] Moscow—Several prominent figures in the Soviet sciences and arts were due to announce the creation of a "social discussion club" on Wednesday 12 October with the aim of formulating proposals for economic, political, and cultural reforms, independently from the government.

The creation of this "Moscow Tribune" (which could be the club's name) will bring into the open a political force which has existed for several months but on an informal basis: the active element of "restructuring." Indeed, all the prominent figures behind this initiative, ranging from Mr Sakharov to Mr Sagdeyev, a prominent expert on space questions and scientific adviser to Mr Gorbachev, and including writers like Afanasyev, Geffer, and Batkin, have great moral authority, are resolute supporters of the general secretary's policy, and want it to be implemented more rapidly and to go further.

Dialogue [subhead]

These men consulted each other, could be used as intermediaries when necessary, and several of them have already tried, publicly or secretly, to influence the course of events by appealing directly to Mr Gorbachev. The idea of combining their efforts had been in the air since last spring.

These men think that their initiative is now both possible and necessary and they now want to work on "carefully defined, specific, theoretical and practical" problems, with the aim of "highlighting and comparing different viewpoints" and also "making recommendations."

"Our principle is that of political realism," the club's promoters say, explaining that their aim is to "seek solutions," in other words to make proposals to the government and society which are applicable and really new. However, these men do not want to run the risk of becoming mere court advisers, whose imagination would be curbed by the tactical needs of the time. Instead, they want to contribute to the development of a real "dialogue between society and the party and state leadership," because substituting this dialogue for "old hierarchical relations" strikes them as the essential precondition for restructuring's "victory."

This is the reason for the emphasis placed on the need to "safeguard our ability to make independent, carefully considered, and critical judgements." This is also the reason for the method of work chosen. Far from wanting to consider problems in private, these prominent figures want to hold only open meetings to which anybody—official or unofficial—who has an authoritative view to give on the question being studied, would be invited.

A council of wise men is being formed between Mr Gorbachev and society, which is only just starting to move.

Moscow Militia Reports on Rallies, Crime
PM1310122188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 p 4

[V. Gorchakov report under the rubric "According to Rumors and Authoritatively": "38 Petrovka Street Reports"]

[Text] A routine briefing for journalists took place at the Internal Affairs Main Administration [GUV] yesterday. V. Strelkov, deputy chief of a GUV administration, familiarized those present with the operational situation during the week. He reported that rayispolkoms had received applications in the prescribed manner from various unofficial groupings asking to hold rallies at 29 places on the territories of 16 rayons on Constitution Day. Permission to hold rallies was given in four rayons—Kievskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Proletarskiy, and Volgogradskiy. The Popular Front held a rally in Friendship Park. Speeches touched on the ecological situation in the city and the problem of preserving historical monuments. But the public attending the rally did not

support the speech of one of the invited members of the Democratic Union, in which he proposed his plan for changing the political system.

In the Baltic region, Lieutenant Colonel V. Strelkov remarked, the Popular Front has its own program and statutes. But the Moscow Popular Front more frequently slides toward the extremist positions of the Democratic Union.

It was pointed out at the briefing that on 7 October party raykoms, rayispolkoms, and law-enforcement organs took measures to ensure order in the city. Nevertheless, members of the Democratic Union tried to hold an unauthorized rally in Tverskiy Avenue. At 1500 20 people, including Novodvorskaya, Tsarkov, and Sergeyev, who are already well known, unfurled 16 banners. Militia staffers used bullhorns to explain to the gathering the illegal nature of the rally, but the people did not disperse. Nineteen people were arrested, and Sergeyev scattered leaflets when he was detained. A discussion started in the avenue at which approximately 500 people, including 18 foreign correspondents, members of the Popular Front and the "Pamyat" society, and persons of Armenian nationality were present. The gathering broke up after 2300.

On the whole, order was ensured in the city 7 October, and no murders, rapes, or robberies were recorded that day.

On 9 October the Popular Front held a permitted meeting devoted to the centennial of the birth of N.I. Bukharin. The meeting proposed setting up a memorial plaque on the building where Bukharin was born, creating a Bukharin museum, and establishing a student scholarship named for N.I. Bukharin.

On the same day persons of Armenian nationality gathered at Vagankovskoye Cemetery.

V. Strelkov reported that residents of surrounding rayons gathered on Lysaya Hill in Bittsevskiy Forest Park 9 October to demand that this green zone be recognized as a city people's park. At the end of the rally a resolution was adopted demanding that Sevastopolskiy Rayispolkom be obliged to familiarize the public with the plans for the rayon's social development and register the "Bittsa" ecological society.

After reading out the crime statistics for the week, Militia Lieutenant Colonel M. Polynnikov, department chief, familiarized journalists with the information report of Moscow Gorispolkom GUV Investigation Administration on investigations into burglaries.

'Museum of Chekist Glory' Opens in Kharkov
AU1110191188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
4 Oct 88 p 4

[V. Puzikov report: "From the Extraordinary Commission's Archives"]

[Text] Quite a few things that were until recently, were secret and kept under lock and key have now become accessible to all visitors to the museum of Chekist glory that opened recently in the premises of the Kharkov Oblast administration of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee.

The museum's exposition opens with a bust of Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy sculpted by S. Lebedyev during Dzerzhinskiy's lifetime. As is known, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy repeatedly visited Kharkov and helped organize the work of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage.

The museum's stands display personal belongings, credentials, and photographs of Kharkov comrades in arms of the chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage. Numerous archival documents and materials are evidence of the hard and strained Chekist activity during the Civil War and in the period of establishing Soviet rule in the Ukraine, of the Chekist role in the Great Patriotic War, in the partisan and underground movement deep in the enemy's hinterland, and of the work performed by KGB operatives in our times.

The museum's stands give evidence of the struggle against subversive actions launched by foreign intelligence services. They show copies of espionage reports, samples of anti-Soviet and provocative publications confiscated from foreign emissaries, and other items.

Washington Correspondent Vladimir Dunayev Dies
LD1110224988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1545 GMT 11 Oct 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Excerpt] It has fallen to me to end this broadcast with a sorrowful report that came from Washington today. Vladimir Dunayev has died. [video shows still photograph of Dunayev] It is hard to believe. It is hard to become reconciled to this idea, both for us, his colleagues and work comrades, and, I am sure, for you comrade viewers. Since 1963, for more than 25 years, Vladimir Pavlovich Dunayev had worked in radio and television. He was our correspondent in London. For 3 years now, he had been working in the U.S. capital. [passage omitted]

Hemp Gatherers Put on Trial in Kalmykia
LD1210212388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Here is a report from Kalmykia on drug addiction. The first trial of five hemp gatherers has been held there. This activity will result in considerable time inside for all the accomplices. The crime was cut short at the very beginning and the drug has not reached the consumer. On the whole, however, the picture is causing serious concern. The leaders of the republican agro-industrial complex are failing to monitor the fulfillment of their own decisions on the elimination of hemp growing sites. The local soviets are also showing liberalism in their attitude to lawbreakers. Given such attitudes, one can hardly hope that the trial of the hemp gatherers will be the first as well as the last one.

Reader Says Brezhnev Not Solely To Blame
PM1310152388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from reader S. Kondratyev under the "Letters... 'Not for Publication'" rubric: "Remember Our Dignity"]

[Text] Do we learn from the lessons of history? Alas, not always. We praise a leader to the skies, but when he has gone we emphasize our loyalty to the new one and trample on the old one. L. Brezhnev is to blame for the period of stagnation. But those who stood beside him and are now campaigning for restructuring should not deny that they actively helped him. Let us honestly admit: We all created stagnation together—party, trade union, and Komsomol organs.

Is it not servility which motivates those who danced on Brezhnev's portrait at the premiere of the movie "Assa"? The movie used a huge portrait of Brezhnev. Clearly, the moviemakers were trying to say: Here he is, the chief culprit of all our troubles. It is easy to pin all the blame on one man, but let us ask: What did each of us do to change the situation? In the main we kept silent, we approved, we applauded. But now in an instant we have turned into the boldest champions of restructuring. But supposing it is abolished tomorrow—will we fall silent and accept it all? That, too, is servility. Let us have respect for ourselves. A sober approach to the evaluation of events and a sense of our own dignity—that is what we need.

[Signed] S. Kondratyev, Arkhangelsk

Dialogue on Party Democratization Published
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["Topical Dialogue" between Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Shostakovskiy, rector of Moscow Higher Party School, and V. Poletskiy, professor of Moscow Higher Party School faculty of party building, conducted by V. Tsybulskiy: "When a Decision Is Made"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] What should our party become as a result of the changes? By what methods will we achieve this? What is the role and significance of the current report and election meetings and the restructuring of the party apparatus? This is discussed by the participants in today's dialogue: Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Shostakovskiy, delegate to the 19th party conference and rector of Moscow Higher Party School, and V. Poletskiy, professor of Moscow Higher Party School faculty of party building.

Postulates and Axioms [subhead]

[Tsybulskiy] At the conference, which formulated the main avenues of democratization in the party's life, this idea was expressed particularly insistently in the delegates' speeches: It is necessary to preserve ideological and organizational unity in the party, strengthen party discipline, and step up party control of the placing of cadres. But is it not the case that the edifice of the command-and-administer system was at one time founded on a particular interpretation of precisely these principles of party building? How can such transformations be avoided in the course of the democratization of the party that has begun?

[Poletskiy] The conference formulated and proposed tactical means of resolving problems, and outlined radical changes in the work of party committees and the apparatus. But when it comes to a profound restructuring of intraparty relations and democratization in the party, it becomes clear that there is only one possibility here—to revive the Leninist concept of the party in its full sense. In other words, to restore to all the principles of party building now in question their Leninist interpretation.

[Shostakovskiy] And we should begin by reviving the Leninist definition of the party's very purpose in our society. According to Lenin, the party is objectively necessary under socialism, necessary in order to teach the working class and peasantry to manage the economy and manage the country. I emphasize—the people should do the managing. This idea was distorted by the view of the party as an order of knights in armor, and deformed by the command style, by authoritarianism. The objective of teaching the party to manage was

replaced by the exact opposite—not allowing the people into management in any form. Unfortunately, a party living by undemocratic principles was unable to propose any other policy.

If you look at the whole range, the whole system of ideas covered by the conference proposals, you can see a fairly complete picture of the reform of the political system of our society. A major step has been taken toward direct democracy. How does this relate to party democratization? We must implement the following principle in party practice: The communist is the master in his political organization and is responsible for it. He should have the right to his own opinion about the party's life and the methods and approaches to resolving the tasks it sets. What is preventing the establishment of such a system? Stereotypes in party thinking.

Take this proposition, for instance: The party is a union of like-minded people. Have we not oversimplified this in practice? Yes, we are like-minded with regard to the party's aims and its program, but as for the methods of work and forms of carrying it out, here there can be the most diverse opinions and approaches. Here we need democracy as an instrument to forewarn us of errors, expose them in good time, and help us to rectify them. Through debate, through discussion, and through the practice of implementation of decisions, which may be very different in different organizations.

[Poletskiy] Let us recall Lenin's interpretation of the concept of "party unity." We have narrowed this down to such an extent that we have turned it into its exact opposite. The result is that party unity means, first and foremost, having only one way of thinking and one way of acting to implement decisions. Similarly, the concept of party discipline has acquired a one-sided interpretation in the spirit of the command-and-administer system.

In this context I would like to mention control. What was Lenin's attitude to control, what task was set for it? Not bureaucratic, supervisory checks on performance, but the possibility of checking and assessing the correctness of the decision adopted in the course of its implementation, being sure that it is in accordance with the party's strategic, program goals, and giving effective assistance in organizing the work. Yet the administrative interpretation of control became, and still is, the practice, because a decision, once adopted, thereby becomes sacrosanct, so to speak, and is considered to be beyond reproach by definition.

Yet a decision is adopted in a certain political situation by a certain group of people. It may be the optimum decision at that particular moment, but as soon as the first steps are taken to implement the decision, the situation changes. What should be done next, how can the decision be fulfilled realistically and creatively in these conditions? That is where control should help. Not as a demand to carry out orders dogmatically, word for

word, but as an opportunity for the party committee to establish feedback with life, with the party, as an opportunity to introduce amendments and thereby ensure the more efficient fulfillment of the decision in accordance with the set objective.

What If I Do Not Agree? [subhead]

[Tsybulskiy] At the conference there were no disagreements between delegates in the strategic areas of democratization, glasnost, combating bureaucracy, and economic reform. Disputes arose on tactical proposals: How and by what means will the party's strategy be put into practice? Here various proposals were put forward. Some specific measures on the democratization of the party, for instance to hold elections of the leading figures in party committees at congresses and conferences, were rejected by a majority of party conference delegates. Decisions were adopted and they must be fulfilled. What should be the position of those who supported proposals that were not adopted by the conference?

[Shostakovskiy] Every proposal at the conference, before being accepted or rejected, was debated. The rejection of the proposal for broader elections of party committee leaders was also substantiated. The crux of the objections was that electing the general secretary at a congress, and first secretaries at conferences, would give the leaders of party committees power that would not be limited by the elected organs. The first secretaries would be above both the bureaus and the plenums.

[Tsybulskiy] It is well known that similar arguments were cited in I. Stalin's report on the draft 1936 Constitution. That was how he justified rejecting direct and universal voting in elections for the head of government. But that did not prevent either Stalin or subsequent leaders, in the top echelons of power or locally, from rising above bureaus, plenums, the party, and the people.

[Poletskiy] But if the general or first secretaries are elected at the plenum and conference, then they are indeed not subordinate to the elected organs, but only to the congress or conference. And that is once in 5 years. They cannot be called to account every month or every year. Today the country is in a state where the actions of the first secretaries need to be adjusted constantly, both centrally and locally.

[Shostakovskiy] The point is that under Stalin and later, the elected organs did not meet the requirements of autonomous, self-regulating political bodies. Why not? There was an undemocratic situation in the party and in the state, and the elected organs had no vote and did not and could not exercise their right to formulate the leadership question autonomously. With the emerging democratic culture this becomes a possibility. Only time will tell how realistic it is. And on the basis of the

practices of party life, those who support wider participation by communists in the elections of first secretaries will be able to raise the question at the next congress, if there are grounds to do so.

[Tsybulskiy] At the conference and after it (at least, judging by our newspaper's mail), not everyone understood or agreed with, for instance, the point about combining the posts of party committee first secretary and soviet chairman. What should communists who do not support this measure do, after the conference's adoption of the decision on combining these posts?

[Shostakovskiy] It is fully in accordance with the Leninist interpretation of democratic centralism to have freedom of debate at the stage of adoption of a decision, and unity of action in implementing it.

The arguments in favor of the point about combining these posts are well known. Let me add what I think. First of all, about the misunderstanding of the nature of the proposed reform. People are now talking about "combining" ["sovmeshcheniye"] these posts. But that is not so! The first secretary, if he has the voters' confidence, takes on the functions of helping to organize, convene, and define the areas in which the soviet will work, first and foremost. The task is to give the soviets power. It is easy to say "now the soviets are autonomous"—that is just another slogan that is not supported by organization. The main task for the party committee first secretary who takes on the functions of soviet chairman is to exert direct party influence on the transfer of powers to the soviets. Not so much to control the soviet as to help it to take power. That is, to fulfill the Leninist interpretation of the party's purpose: The party is necessary in order to teach the people to manage.

There is a danger that the party worker will try to execute his new functions using the old methods, for instance to start burdening the party apparatus with soviet work. And although the reorganization of the party apparatus itself should take the ground from under such attempts, there are no guarantees that this will not happen. And we communists, showing unity in fulfilling the conference decisions on this point, must ensure that the decision adopted is indeed correct, and that negative occurrences will be the exception. Otherwise we will have to raise this matter again before the next congress.

Words, Laws, and Deeds [subhead]

[Tsybulskiy] So we must put into practice the principle "the Communist is the master in his party organization." An undoubted guarantee of this is the democratic atmosphere that has been established in the party since the conference. But in order to further advance in this direction we need new laws and new norms of party life. The documents and normative acts adopted since the conference on the holding of elections in the party are

assessed in different ways. One even encounters opinions like this: "The announcement of the 'new' instruction on party elections," writes A. Mikhaylov from the Moscow area, a serviceman and a CPSU member since 1960, "caused me disappointment." He believes that "election procedure in the party remains undemocratic and characterized by stagnation."

[Shostakovskiy] The conference and the documents that have appeared since then create the organizational prerequisites for party democratization. The primary party organization has been granted the right to nominate candidates for the party committee, and to recall from the committee a member of an elected organ who has not justified this trust; the term in elected posts is limited; and multiple seats and secret, personal ballots in elections of party committee secretaries are being introduced. But organizational mechanisms are not sufficient in themselves for the cause of democracy. An organizational mechanism, however well-oiled, is not in itself automatically capable of influencing the party's life and work.

Lenin foresaw, for instance, the possibility of a situation where a person at the center would be endowed with enormous power, but would be totally incapable, as has indeed happened in the last 20 years. And Lenin's idea was that the situation could be changed only by a growth in political creativity and mass activeness from below, and by the establishment of true party comradeship as the basis of the party. Examples of such comradeship emerged in the elections to the 19th party conference. At that time the party organizations were able to show both courage and responsibility.

I believe that if the reports and elections are following the old scenario anywhere it will be a kind of deviation from restructuring. And it is not a matter of instructions. Every Communist proposing a candidate for the party committee or electing a delegate to a conference, every delegate who has a voting paper in his hands and has to decide which of the candidates to leave on the list, must have a clear sense of responsibility for the consequences of his decision. In essence the fate of the party and restructuring is today in the hands of ordinary Communists.

[Poletskiy] The new thinking should cover the entire party, not only the leadership, and then it will become a decisive force in society. We speak of increasing the prestige of elected party organs up to and including the Central Committee. This is only possible given a strengthening of control from below. Now all these demands are backed up organizationally—the party organization that has a member of an elected party organ on its list can demand a report from him at any moment, and recall him if the Communists are not satisfied with his work.

[Shostakovskiy] Strangely enough, this measure seemed to escape the delegates' notice at the conference; it was hardly discussed at all in the sessions or between them. And this confirmed yet again that organizational measures can only work when they accord with and are backed up by the level of political activeness of the organization and the political and democratic sophistication of its members.

[Tsybulskiy] But organizational measures should not fetter the political activeness and creative initiative of party members.

[Shostakovskiy] That is precisely the crux, purpose, and aim of democratization, and also, incidentally, that is where it differs from liberalization. People still confuse these two processes. They think that if we can go out carrying placards, demonstrate, and make a fuss, that is democracy. Not at all. That level of freedom can easily exist under an authoritarian regime. And the doses are carefully controlled. The reins are slackened somewhere, tightened somewhere else, the picture on the whole seems to be one of freedom, yet in fact there is no democracy at all. Democratization is only possible where the correlation between political activeness and organizational norms allowing that activeness to find an outlet is such that the degree of freedom is itself regulated by the members of a given organization, based on common sense and with a view to achieving the goals set. Here no one individual or group can give orders or impose restrictions. The system itself guarantees freedom for every member of the organization, and regulates and resolves contradictions between personal and public interests.

[Tsybulskiy] How close are we to such a system today, at the formation stage of party committees?

[Poletskiy] We can see a number of substantial, fundamental positive developments here. The unwritten right of the apparatus to form the party committee is being handed over to the primary party organizations and backed up organizationally. And this right should be exercised by representatives of party organizations at all stages of the election campaign. Before the conference, a commission is set up—an elected working body made up of delegates, which represents the candidates. The commissions' autonomy is in no way restricted. They can extend the group of candidates, depart from the practice—which has become the norm—of restricting the pool of candidates, abandon their searches among the nomenklatura, disregard the candidates' professional qualifications, and put an end to all those percentages and quotas. That is to say, they can seek the fullest, best possible utilization of the party's cadre potential. But all this will only become possible provided that the Communists' activeness is maintained, and provided that they have a clear idea of what they have to do and how to do it in order to form a worthy, effective elected organ.

Party meetings are taking place in the primary organizations, and candidates for the party committees are being named. Those who nominate them should tell us about these people through the local press, radio, and television, and the candidates themselves should present to the primary party organizations their program for the party committee's work. Those who regard the candidate as incompetent, or know of any unseemly actions on his part, or doubt his moral right to join an elected organ, should be given the right to share their doubts with the Communists, while the candidate and his supporters should have the right to dispute such assertions publicly. In short, candidates about whom the conference delegates know nothing should not appear on the ballot paper.

[Shostakovskiy] Naturally, all this will require much organizational work and proper guidance on the part of primary party organizations, conference commissions, and the local mass media. All this is the duty of the present party committees and their apparatus. At the conference, speeches by delegates and party workers contained the claim, supported from the floor, that restructuring begins in the party committees. Now we are hearing increasingly more clearly: We have had enough talk, it is time to fulfill the party conference decisions. In the course of the reports and elections, obviously, it will become absolutely clear how a particular party worker relates to restructuring, and how capable he is of fulfilling the party conference decisions.

What Should We Do? [subhead]

[Poletskiy] How should we form the party committees as a result of the election campaign, what kind of bodies should they be? First and foremost they will be political bodies. We need intellectual, organizational, propagandist party centers in the localities. They should overcome the diktat of the apparatus, demand that it abandon command methods in work with communists, set an example of this themselves, and master political methods of leadership—that is, not exercise leadership through leaders who are party members, but exert a political influence on the atmosphere in the labor collectives through their party organizations.

[Shostakovskiy] Here entirely new mechanisms of work by the elected organs are to be created along the lines drawn up by the conference. New forms of work are also needed by members of gorkoms, raykoms, and obkoms, not from case to case, on a question prepared exclusively by the apparatus—that practice has helped to establish its effective power—but constantly and autonomously. Opportunities exist for changing the established system of relationships between the apparatus and the elected organ—party committees set up standing commissions, and their members can work on the party committee bureaus too. The new party control organs, elected by and subordinate to only the conference or congress, should give considerable assistance with this restructuring.

[Poletskiy] In analyzing the processes that have begun in the party since the conference we cannot escape the need for a political prediction, an attempt to imagine how the party democratization will really go and what complexities and obstacles await us on this path.

The changes in the party that have begun since April 1985 show that the new realities of party life now taking place are reflected in the mass consciousness of Communists, and make them act in a new way. And now these conscious actions are themselves forming the political atmosphere, and the process is acquiring an entirely new rhythm and achieving tangible results.

I am convinced that major changes await us in party life, and that they will take place rapidly and not painlessly. By virtue of its very openness and frankness, the conference denigrated the attitude of various social groups toward restructuring.

[Shostakovskiy] In general I share these views of the prospects for party democratization. I would like to make it clear that both before the conference and today the party apparatus was cited as the main brake on restructuring in the party. In my view that is one of the illusions nurtured by the command-and-administer system—to see all the party's merits and all its shortcomings solely in the apparatus. If that was indeed the case.... But in fact it is these illusions, misconceptions, and stereotypes, which are present in every one of us, that are the main brake, the opponent of restructuring. It is these that could freeze the process of change halfway to success—if not countrywide, then in a particular oblast, city, or rayon.

Remember, for instance, our habit of failing to reckon with the time factor, which M.S. Gorbachev spoke of several times in his conversations with the inhabitants of Krasnoyarsk Kray. It is, in a way, traditional for us not to reckon with the time factor, and has been so since the first 5-year plans, which were compressed into 3 years without consideration for either resources or potential. We now know what came of that. The same is true of today's changes in the party. Elected organs will be replaced, the apparatus will be renewed, the quest will begin for political methods of leadership, we will grant autonomy to soviets and economic managers, we will concern ourselves only with party organizations...yet at the first objection by a raykom secretary, the first mention of a figure for milk, hay, or the plan, everyone could fall back into their rut. The figures will appear in the end, but whether the milk and meat will appear...I doubt it.

And therefore, for all the reality of the resistance to change on the part of those who are conservatives not from duty, but from conviction, and for all the haste and impatience of the "pseudoprogressives," it is not they who will determine the fate of restructuring in the party. Nor will it be the particular organizational measures

drawn up on the basis of the conference decisions. The party's political will, energy, and creativity will decide everything. And I think the decision will be the right one.

Past, Present Role of Law in State Discussed

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[G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernyak account of discussion with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Ye.A. Skripilev, Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.P. Maslov, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences N.F. Chistyakov under the rubric "Pages of History": "Power and Law"—date, place not given; first three paragraphs are introduction; respondents not specified]

[Text] Power and law. They cannot exist without one another. On taking over power, the proletariat demolished the state machinery of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, abolished bourgeois legality, created a new state apparatus, established its own socialist legality, and enshrined it in constitutional form. "It is necessary to sacredly observe the laws and prescriptions of Soviet power and to ensure that they are obeyed by all," "Decrees must not be EVADED: People should be sent to trial for just suggesting it." That was V.I. Lenin's viewpoint on this issue. And he implemented it unswervingly, no matter who had infringed the law.

So how come Lenin's ideas of courts, legality, and law and order were perverted? How is the rule-of-law state to be established?

Judging by the editorial mailbag, these questions perturb many of our readers. So we decided that this latest issue of "Pages of History," prepared jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, should be devoted to the problems of observing socialist legality. Taking part in the discussion were Doctor of Juridical Sciences Prof Ye.A. Skripilev, Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.P. Maslov, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences N.F. Chistyakov.

"...To Sacredly Observe the Laws..." [subhead]

Question: PRAVDA readers V. Ivashkevich (Minsk), V. Gordudzhiy (Perm), and others ask for a detailed description of Lenin's concept of socialist legality, law and order, and socialist justice.

Answer: Even in the period prior to October, Vladimir Ilich perceived the decisive role of the law in the building of socialism and communism. After Great October's victory, V.I. Lenin said that "by promulgating laws in conformity with the aspirations and hopes of the broad people's masses, the new power creates landmarks along the path of the development of new forms of life." Defining the essence of legality as the uniform interpretation and accurate observance of the laws' prescriptions by all state organs, public organizations, officials, and citizens, right after the revolution he called for the

creation of a socialist law and order regime in the country. The resolution of the Petrograd Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies, written by Lenin and adopted on the basis of his report on 25 October (7 November) 1929, pointed out: "The soviet expresses confidence that urban workers, in alliance with the poor peasantry, will demonstrate unbending comradely discipline and will create the most strict revolutionary order necessary for the victory of socialism."

The very first Soviet Constitution—the 1918 RSFSR Constitution—contained provisions aimed at ensuring legality and law and order in the country. The ideas of ensuring legality and protecting citizens' rights and freedoms in every way also permeated the 1924 USSR Constitution.

The first codification of Soviet legislation was carried out under Lenin's leadership in 1921-1922. The main objective pursued by Lenin was to democratize the state apparatus, to strengthen its ties with working people, and to ensure that the activity of all the state apparatus' links and all its officials was strictly in accordance with the demands of socialist legality. He demanded the most painstaking preparation of every legislative act, believing that: "...Triple care must be exercised when legislating. Check things over and over again!..." "Under no circumstances should we allow...unnecessary, inept, and hasty regulations not based on experience." This is precisely why, before a law is promulgated, it is necessary to conduct a detailed study of life and those phenomena of life which are to be regulated by the law in question.

Concerned about the quality of the laws passed by Soviet power, Vladimir Ilich attached paramount importance to monitoring the experience, knowledge, and strict observance of these laws by all organs of power, officials, and citizens. It was on his suggestion that the 6th Extraordinary All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted the resolution "On Precise Observance of Laws." Proclaiming legality to be one of the fundamental principles of the country's entire life, the congress resolved: "To call on all citizens of the republic and on all organs and officials of Soviet power to most rigorously observe the laws of the RSFSR and the resolutions, regulations, and directives already promulgated or to be promulgated by the central authorities." The resolution provided for development of the working people's initiative in the struggle against red tape and illegality. Specifically, Article 3 made it incumbent on all officials to draw up a report at the demand of any citizen wishing to appeal against their actions, against red tape, or illegality. Persons guilty of refusing to draw up a report were to be taken before the people's court.

Question: It is a pity that this resolution is not in force today. The measures contained in it would come in very helpful now in the struggle against bureaucratism. After all, there are many functionaries who, when dealing with working people's petitions and complaints, blatantly wrap everything up in red tape and commit breaches of

the law, and there is no legal recourse against them. Furthermore, those who try to appeal against unlawful actions by officials often end up as the guilty party. But let us turn back to the topic of the discussion. The balance between legality and expediency was an issue on which V.I. Lenin sharply focused attention....

Answer: Correct, this is a very important and far from simple issue. Vladimir Ilich believed that socialist legality is, simultaneously, also the highest expediency. At the same time he noted that "if a law hinders the development of the revolution, it should be repealed or amended." Of course, this does not mean that any citizen or official can independently decide the question of the expediency of laws or arbitrarily repeal them. A law can be repealed only by the competent organ and according to established procedures, and only in cases when it ceases to conform with practical realities. Incidentally, no matter what difficulties the young Soviet republic experienced, Vladimir Ilich invariably ensured the strict observance of laws and the prevention of any unjustified repressions.

It is well known that, in its struggle against Soviet power, the counterrevolution stooped to anything, even the base assassination of supporters of the new system. In response to the white terror by the counterrevolution and following the assassinations of M. Uritskiy and V. Volodarskiy and the attempt on V.I. Lenin's life, the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars adopted on 5 September 1918 the resolution "On the Red Terror," which spoke about the need to take extraordinary measures to secure the rear. The journal KRASNYY TERROR [RED TERROR] was published in Kazan. M. Latsis, one of the Cheka leaders, wrote in this journal: "Don't look in a case for evidence whether he [the accused] rose against Soviet power with weapon in hand or only verbally." V.I. Lenin did not overlook this article and, in his own article "A Tiny Picture To Clarify Major Issues," described this statement by M. Latsis as absurd. There are numerous instances of steps taken by V.I. Lenin to prevent groundless application of repressions.

He raised with particular urgency the question of ensuring legality in connection with the end of the Civil War and the transition to the New Economic Policy [NEP]. In a letter to D.I. Kurskiy in February 1922 (with a copy to Molotov for members of the Politburo and a copy to A.D. Tsyurupa, Rykov, and Yenukidze for members of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee) he remarked: "Clearly, the activity of the People's Commissariat for Justice is still not quite adapted to the NEP.

"Hitherto, the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs and the Cheka have been the main combat organs of Soviet power. Now an especially militant role is being assigned to the People's Commissariat for Justice; unfortunately, there is still no sign that the leaders and senior officials of the People's Commissariat for Justice have realized this."

The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars demanded a fundamental improvement in the work of the People's Commissariat for Justice and the court organs and outlined a program for the restructuring of their work in the NEP conditions.

This program is topical to this day. There is an especially contemporary sound to Lenin's words: "Trade, make money, we will allow you to do this, but we will **triple** your obligation to be honest, to provide truthful and accurate accounts, to observe not only the letter but also the **spirit** of our communist legislation, and not to commit **even a fractional** deviation from our laws—this must be the basic commandment of the People's Commissariat of Justice as regards the NEP."

Question: It looks as if these words by Vladimir Ilich should apply today to judicial organs and to Soviet citizens who try to take advantage of the opportunity for individual labor activity or cooperative activity to cover up abuses.

Answer: Yes, Lenin bequeathed a series of fundamentally important ideas about the punishment policy of the Soviet socialist state. Moreover, he perceived the main task of socialist legality as being to combat and eradicate crime and stipulated that the efficiency and effectiveness of the implementation of these tasks depend on the prompt detection, comprehensive investigation, and correct punishment of people guilty of committing offenses. Furthermore, he wrote, "the important point is not to prescribe a harsh punishment for a crime but to ensure that **not a single** crime goes undetected."

Question: It is well known that Vladimir Ilich was especially strict in demanding punishment for crimes committed by Communists....

Answer: Indeed, on learning that the Moscow Committee was being lenient toward party members who had committed crimes, V.I. Lenin proposed in a letter to the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Politburo that the Moscow Committee be severely reprimanded for leniency toward Communists and that "a circular be forwarded to the People's Commissariat for Justice (with copies to guberniya party committees) to the effect that the courts must punish Communists **more harshly** than non-Communists." He considered the principle of Communists' enhanced judicial liability and the need for "triple punishment" for crimes against nonparty people the essential element of all juridical work. This stance expressed his unbending determination to uphold the party's purity and protect it from everything alien to it.

"...To Expose the Roots and Bring Into the Light of Publicity..." [subhead]

Question: Lenin's theoretical heritage contains a series of important ideas casting light on the court's role in the struggle against abuse of power, economic mismanagement, inability to run affairs, inefficiency, bureaucratism, and red tape.

Answer: This was one of Vladimir Ilich's major concerns. He invariably emphasized that these phenomena in the economic mechanism, as well as in the activity of the state apparatus, must be combated most resolutely, using the courts for this purpose. For example, in response to a report that some trusts were operating at a loss, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars proposed, in a letter dated 1 February 1922, measures aimed at ensuring profitable economic management. The main measure was the enhancement of responsibility for the entrusted work. "...Trusts and enterprises," he wrote, "are founded on economic accountability precisely in order to ensure that they themselves are responsible—and fully responsible—for making sure that their enterprises do not operate at a loss. If it turns out that they have failed to achieve this, then I think that they should be taken to court and all board members should be punished by long terms of imprisonment (maybe followed by release on parole after they have served a certain term), confiscation of all property, and so on." In his letter dated 11 February 1922 he asked: "Has any thought been given to forms and methods of liability of members of trust boards for incorrect accountability and for operating at a loss? Maybe our People's Commissariat for Justice is asleep?" In the political report of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee to the 11th party congress on 27 March 1922, he noted that the court "must call to account those who are to blame for the failure to sell tens of thousands of poods of canned food."

As we can see, Vladimir Ilich urgently raised the question of maximum glasnost in the administration of justice. According to Lenin, glasnost in the trial of criminal cases is needed primarily "in order to expose the roots and bring into the light of publicity all the sociopolitical threads of the crime and its importance, in order to learn from the trial lessons in public morality and practical policy." The court can perform this role only when it maintains close links with the broad masses of working people and expresses their perception of events, a perception shaped not in the offices of various departments and institutions but under the pressure of practical social life. "There is no need to fear the court (our court is proletarian) and glasnost," he wrote, "and red tape practices must be hauled before the court of glasnost: Only thus will we properly cure this disease." V.I. Lenin demanded that "four or six cases involving red tape practices in Moscow be put on trial in Moscow, selecting the 'more outstanding' cases and making every trial a political affair." He was a resolute opponent of cases being dismissed without glasnost (in other words, a practice which is deeply rooted in our country and which we cannot seem to shake off at all), described this

practice as a stupidly secretive Central Committee cover-up, and believed that the social and educational importance of a trial held in conditions of glasnost is a thousand times better than this practice, even if the court finds grounds for releasing the culprits without penalty.

In a letter to P.A. Bogdanov dated 23 December 1921, Vladimir Ilich noted that if some people guilty of red tape and inefficiency happen also to really be exceptionally good, devoted, and valuable workers, and if this has been proved in court, then why rule out a sentence something like this: "...This time we pass a most lenient sentence, bearing in mind the quite exceptional conscientiousness of the accused, but nevertheless giving a warning that in the future we will impose punishment for red tape even on the most irreproachable but inefficient blockheads (the court would probably put it more politely) because we, the RSFSR, need not irreproachability but ability to conduct affairs." And, he went on to say, the following persons "will this time be released without penalty," while this one, who "was obligated to report to the Council for Labor and Defense and failed to perform this duty, is sentenced to 1 week's imprisonment."

This was the court of which Lenin dreamed. I would like once more to draw attention to the letter to D.I. Kurskiy about the tasks of the People's Commissariat for Justice in the NEP conditions, which was already cited earlier. It contains these words, which seem to apply directly to our time: "The educational importance of the courts is tremendous. Where is our concern about this? Where is the consideration of real results? There is no sign of it, and yet this is the foundation of all juridical work."

V.I. Lenin paid special attention to giving the working people an awareness of socialist legality via propaganda of Soviet legislation. Addressing the Commissariat for Justice 15 April 1918, he suggested that it be made obligatory for judicial organs to implement juridical propaganda measures among the population with the help of the press and lectures. Vladimir Ilich also drew attention to the interlinkage between socialist legality and culture, telling people "to learn to fight for legality in a cultured manner, in no way forgetting the limits of legality in revolution."

Stalin and the Others [subhead]

Question: Clear-cut demands, a well-balanced system of socialist legality and administration of justice. When did the retreat from them begin? How did it happen?

Answer: That happened in the midtwenties, when the administrative edict style of running the affairs of society and the state started gaining the upper hand in the country. V.I. Lenin warned against getting carried away by the administrative aspect of management and, in his last letters, substantiated the need to restructure the state

apparatus in the direction of democratizing it and consolidating its legal foundations. But those who got carried away by the administrative aspect of management (and there were quite a few of them within the party) preferred the administrative edict style to Lenin's ideas in the sphere of state and legal building. The Stalin personality cult and the ensuing arbitrariness and illegality were the inevitable consequences of this style.

Question: There is, incidentally, a legend that Stalin did not know about the tortures committed behind prison walls by Yagoda, Yezhov, and Beriia, or about other felonious methods of investigation and forgeries in criminal cases. What do you think about this?

Answer: This legend is absolutely groundless. He knew, and it was more than just a matter of knowing. Back in 1937, in the name of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee, he gave the NKVD organs instructions to use physical methods on detainees. Some 2 years later, in January 1939, again in the name of the Central Committee, Stalin circulated a Central Committee telegram to union republics, obkoms, kraykoms, people's commissariats for internal affairs, and chiefs of internal affairs administrations demanding the mandatory application of such measures in the future.

Stalin insisted that the method of physical influence should be compulsorily applied in the future, by way of an exception, toward obvious enemies of the people who had still not laid down their arms, as the perfectly correct and expedient method.

On leafing through case materials from that time, one cannot but shudder at the arbitrary actions taken against Soviet people, including those who had shed their blood to ensure victory by Soviet power. An especially typical case in this respect is that of Corps Commander Yepifan Iovich Kovtyukh, member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, legendary Civil War hero, three times awarded the Order of the Red Banner, and party member since 1918, who was arrested in 1937. The same Kovtyukh who was depicted by A. Serafimovich in his book "The Iron Stream" [Zheleznyy Potok] under the name of Kozhukh.

Kovtyukh wrote in a letter from prison addressed to Stalin: "I am that same Kozhukh who, with a mass of 60,000 refugees and their women and children—ragged, half-starved, and poorly armed—crossed the Caucasus ridge and led this army out of enemy encirclement. I commanded the division whose night attack liberated Stalingrad from the Whites...."

"I do not know why I am about to die and why I should be so cruelly treated. I end with tears in my eyes in the hope that you will spare my life."

The hopes he pinned on Stalin's "kindness" were in vain. Kovtyukh was charged with counterrevolutionary conspiracy. He was cruelly tortured during the "investigation." He was shot on the basis of the verdict of the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium without a single shred of proof. It was only in 1956 that the case against Ye.I. Kovtyukh was dismissed due to the lack of any elements of crime in his actions.

Question: It could be said that arbitrariness and illegality reached their peak in 1937. But they must have been preceded by ideological and juridical preparations? After all, there were repressions even before then. What could you say in this context?

Answer: Indeed, the mass repressions during the personality cult years were preceded by what could be described as preparations for them in the spheres of ideology and legislation. The ideological preparation can be seen in the promotion by I.V. Stalin, in the late twenties, of his notorious theory that class struggle sharpens as progress is made toward socialism. In addition to this, the mass repressions were also preceded by a grave deformation of criminal law and criminal procedure. The outcome of this deformation was the fact that punishments were made harsher in the early thirties and the guarantees of the individual's rights in criminal proceedings were destroyed, which opened up the way for arbitrariness and illegality. This can be seen especially clearly in the legislation of 1934. That, specifically, was the year of the USSR Central Executive Committee resolution dated 10 July 1934, which created the Special Board. This anti-constitutional extrajudicial organ, operating within the system of state security organs, had virtually a free hand in deciding questions concerning the grounds for and limits of the application of criminal repressions. The Special Board, together with other extrajudicial organs (the 3-man and 2-man tribunals), were a weapon for the cruel treatment and mass extermination of totally innocent people during the personality cult period.

Let us also mention the USSR Central Executive Committee resolution dated 1 December 1934 "On Procedures for the Prosecution of Cases Involving Preparation or Commission of Terrorist Acts." It was urgently adopted on Stalin's suggestion after the news of S.M. Kirov's assassination. According to this resolution, the investigation of cases involving terrorist acts must be completed within 10 days. The accused and the defense did not participate in the hearing of these cases. Appeals and petitions for clemency were not allowed, and sentence was carried out immediately after it was passed.

It is worth noting that the number of people arrested for preparing or committing terrorist acts had sharply increased as early as 1934. But this was just a kind of sinister dress rehearsal for the 1937 repressions, an outburst of disorder, illegality, and arbitrariness.

A. Ya. Vyshinskiy played a sinister role in implementing mass repressions during the years of the Stalin personality cult. In his capacity as legal theoretician he laid the scientific basis for arbitrariness and illegality and created in legal science an atmosphere which stifled all living ideas. A kind of Vyshinskiy cult developed in juridical science and his theoretical concepts were deemed infallible at the time.

That's not all. In his capacity as USSR prosecutor from 1935, Vyshinskiy ended the prosecutor's supervision of legality in actions by state security organs in cases involving crimes against the state.

From One Extreme to Another [subhead]

Question: It is well known that much was done to restore legality following the exposure of Stalin's cult. Nonetheless, we must speak about the grave deformations of the legal system during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev years, about the fact that we simply failed to return to Lenin's principles of legality. Why?

Answer: Primarily because legislation and its practical application lurched from one extreme to the other: from illegal repressions to the spread of impunity. Herein lie the sources of our society's moral decay, of which we speak with such anguish today and whose consequences we still feel in political, economic, and social life.

The legislative acts passed in the late fifties in the spheres of criminal law and criminal procedure weakened the effect of the principle whereby a crime must be inevitably and invariably followed by punishment. A rule was established whereby so-called unimportant cases were not sent for trial, and punishment was waived for people who had committed crimes which posed no major social danger. In other words, a loophole opened up in the principle of the inevitability of punishment. High-ranking but not overly honest people immediately took advantage of it. Furthermore, they strove to ensure that complex questions concerning the proof of guilt and the determination of the type of liability for committed actions were decided without glasnost, behind closed doors, secretly. This provided broader opportunities to influence the investigating apparatus and prosecutor's office organs at both central and local level. This, in conformity with the law and on the basis of the law, produced an atmosphere of impunity, abuses, and mutual protection coupled with rising crime and moral decay.

The distortions in criminal law and criminal procedure which occurred during the fifties resulted from directives by N.S. Khrushchev, who, taking a simplistic view of the problems of the building of communism and the conditions of the withering away of the state, overlooked the realities of the struggle against crime and forced the transfer of the state's functions in maintaining legality and law and order to the public.

Following the change of political leadership, during Brezhnev's time and when Shchelokov assumed leadership of the USSR MVD the situation regarding the principle of the inevitability of punishment deteriorated further still because militia organs widely adopted the practice of groundlessly refusing to institute criminal proceedings and of covering up crimes. Other law enforcement organs also failed to rise to the required heights. Nor did prosecutors' supervision properly perform its functions.

But this was not the sole typical aspect of the period of stagnation. There were also recurrences of Stalinist practices in the pursuit of criminal [law] policy and interference in the activity of legislative and judicial organs according to the principle of "If I want to, I'll punish; if I want to, I'll exercise clemency." Let us recall one sensational case. Back on 15 June 1961 the Moscow City Court found two persons, Rokotov and Faybishenko by name, guilty of breaching the regulations governing foreign currency transactions and sentenced them, according to the law, to 15 years' imprisonment—the maximum punishment envisaged at that time by the article of the criminal law. Since this case had been given broad publicity in the press, some citizens wrote letters demanding the death sentence for the culprits. These sentiments were backed by N.S. Khrushchev. He demanded an amendment of the criminal law article to provide for harsher punishment, including execution by firing squad. They were sentenced to execution by firing squad.

While L.I. Brezhnev held the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, instances of breaches of legality by this organ "by way of an exception" were quite frequent. Officials from justice organs are familiar with a case when, "by way of an exception," the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium allowed—against the law—the death sentence to be applied to a person under the age of 18.

All these "liberties" not only failed to help consolidate the authority of the law but, on the contrary, engendered disrespect for it and a nihilistic attitude toward it, resulted in violations of the principle of the independence of judges, investigators, and prosecutors, and encouraged them to breach the laws and infringe the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens in the sphere of criminal procedure. There are numerous examples of this.

Toward a Rule-of-Law State [subhead]

Question: In short, there is a pressing need for radical restructuring of the legal system to bring it into line with V.I. Lenin's ideas about courts, justice, and legality, and also in line with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

Answer: Of course, but in order to implement this restructuring it is necessary to abandon the stereotypes of thinking which came into being during the period of the Stalin personality cult and the stagnation period and to make Lenin's ideas of legality, law and order, and socialist justice known to all Communists and all working people. Furthermore, when turning to Lenin, the main point is to interpret his ideas in the light of restructuring in contemporary conditions, contemporary experience, and contemporary tasks.

Today we celebrate our Constitution's anniversary. Let us turn again to the fundamental law. Article four reads:

"The Soviet state and all its organs function on the basis of socialist legality, ensure the maintenance of law and order, and safeguard the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of citizens.

"State organizations, public organizations, and officials must observe the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws."

Supremacy of the law—this is the essence of the rule-of-law state. Legality and justice constitute one of the most reliable ways to renew our society and accelerate restructuring.

The shaping of a socialist rule-of-law state is a major, a truly major task. We have to implement a wide-ranging legal reform whose purpose is to ensure the supremacy of the law in all spheres of society's life and to reinforce the mechanisms for the maintenance of socialist law and order on the basis of the development of people's power. A major role has to be played by improving the legislative activity of the country's supreme organs of power with a view to enhancing the role of Soviet laws.

The law is the country's reason, a supreme manifestation of wisdom which utilizes people's experience for the common good. It must be authoritative and effective. It was no accident that the 19th party conference resolution noted the special importance of the democratization of the legislative process. It must proceed on the basis of glasnost, competent scientific evaluation, and discussion of draft laws involving the broad public, the whole people.

The radical review, codification, and systematization of legislation from the viewpoint of the new conditions of economic management and the humanization and democratization of social life constitute an inalienable part of legal reform. Moreover, as the party documents emphasize, paramount attention will be given to the legal protection of individuals and the consolidation of guarantees for the exercise of political, economic, and social rights and freedoms by Soviet people. At the same time, it is necessary to enhance each citizen's responsibility to his labor collective, the state, and society as a whole.

The reform of the legal system is already under way. The role of the courts in the system of socialist democracy will be enhanced. The adversarial principle, the principle of glasnost, and the principle of the accused's guaranteed right to defense will be developed by the courts. Something that is important is the observance and triumph of the principle of the presumption of innocence. Bias in favor of the prosecution and leniency toward those who have infringed Soviet laws are equally impermissible.

Today we are concerned about what to do to prevent a repetition of the period between the thirties and the fifties. One of the guarantees against it is to consolidate the independence of judges, to give them a longer term in office, and to increase the number of lay assessors in the most complex cases. It is necessary to improve the work of the militia, the investigating organs, prosecutors' supervision, and the legal profession.

The shaping of a socialist rule-of-law state demands effective measures to restructure the population's legal and moral education and to organize universal legal instruction as a uniform all-state and all-party program encompassing all strata of working people. Legal literature must be available to every Soviet person.

Economic

Many Enterprises Not Fulfilling Contracts

PM1210113988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
7 Oct 88 p 1

[V. Raskin "Economic Review": "Counting Up Debts in the Fall"]

[Text] One industrial enterprise in five is currently failing to cope with the fulfillment of its contract pledges. At the same time, there are examples of entire republics and sectors owing practically nothing to consumers. For instance, USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry enterprises have ensured complete fulfillment of contract pledges, and this indicator has been fulfilled by 99.9 percent by Belorussian and Lithuanian industry and by enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry. But, unfortunately, there are more instances of a different kind.

According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics report, the delivery shortfall in the January-August period ran to R4.3 billion. A similar survey, "Supplies on Schedule" (7 months), named the figure R3.6 billion. As we can see, the delivery shortfall is increasing. The biggest lag is in the machine-building complex. Since the beginning of the year consumers have missed out on articles worth R887 million. The metallurgical complex is constantly in debt too (R429 million).

Needless to say, the work of these very important industrial sectors is placing allied sectors in a difficult position. In time it will come full circle: Those who upset the rhythm in the first place will themselves be encountering absences of raw materials, metal, or equipment.

This is illustrated by the delivery situation at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building. These two sectors, like Siamese twins, cannot develop normally without one another. At the same time, these sectors' labor collectives fail to fulfill mutual pledges more often than not. The proportion of enterprises failing to fulfill contract pledges is very high. For example, in the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building it is 59 percent, that is, three in five plants and associations. Some 40 percent of metallurgy collectives are the same. What is going on? The metallurgy workers are failing to supply machine builders with the requisite rolled metal, while the latter, in turn, are not producing up-to-date equipment. At Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy enterprises the proportion of obsolescent or worn-out machinery is very high. Over one-third of the converter and rolling mills have been operating for 20 years and more. But the scale of introduction of new equipment is failing to ensure the radical revamping of metallurgical production.

Our paper has repeatedly criticized enterprises of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building for failing to fulfill contract pledges. The articles "Greater Initiative" (10 March) and "In the Shadow of Leaders" (28 June) named specific labor collectives whose words are at odds with their actions. The editorial office received replies to both TRUD articles from V. Nalivayko, chief of the ministry's Main Production Administration. According to him, steps have been taken regarding the violators of contract pledges: They are paying substantial fines and are receiving less profit. Big deal. He goes on to say: Despite the fact that all the sector's enterprises are working on economic accountability and self-financing terms, economic levers are still being underused and are not stimulating enterprises to carry out deliveries in full. Another main reason for the failure to fulfill pledges is the lag in the production of individual types of machinery and equipment." But what about specific decisions? Not a word. So what has the ministry done to put a stop to nonfulfillment? Following a collegium examination a ministerial order was issued stipulating specific measures to rectify the situation. So, have there been any improvements?

Let us take a look at the facts. Take Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building supplies to ferrous metallurgy enterprises. "Uralmash" has failed to fulfill its contract pledges to the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine. Another example is particularly worrying. The Sverdlovsk workers have failed to supply Magnitogorsk with articles for continuous billet casting machinery. Yet production relations between these two giants had been

considered exemplary. Representatives of the two flagships' worker collectives have already signed several creative collaboration and mutual assistance contracts. That is on paper. But what about the reality? "Uralmash's" debt to Magnitka in the first 6 months of the year was R3.27 million.

But it would be wrong to blame the metallurgists' non-fulfillment of contract pledges entirely on the shortfall in new equipment deliveries. Production discipline in labor collectives remains poor, and they lack a sense of responsibility to partners.

Metallurgical enterprises are still seeking to fulfill plans for the production of the main types of products by lumping them all together, that is, by concentrating on the notorious "gross" output. By ignoring specific consumers, they are failing to produce the prescribed range (yet this is the first condition of new-style work!).

High-quality contract deliveries carried out promptly: that is the aim of our economic reform. The enterprises that are in debt are very well aware of this. But knowing is not enough. It is necessary to show greater initiative and endeavor in order to avoid failures. Appeals and exhortations alone will not do the job. The new management conditions require considerable economic sanctions. Instead of carrying out a "transfusion" from one state pocket to another you penalize the loss-making enterprises. Debts must be paid.

'Breaches of Contractual Discipline' Criticized

PM131014288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov commentary under rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Discipline Assessed as Unsatisfactory"]

[Text] Of the latest reports issued by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, I have selected those describing the state of contractual, technological, and labor discipline in industry. In particular, they note that in the first 8 months of this year 46 percent of associations and enterprises in the machine-building complex failed to fulfill their contractual obligations. Goods worth approximately R900 million failed to reach consumers.

On Machine Builders' Day, 25 September, the Georgian republic newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA published an article by A. Petrov, a foundry worker at the Tbilisi "Mikrodvigatel" Plant belonging to the "Gruzelektromash" Production Association and chairman of the labor collective council. But the article was by no means written for show on this festive day. The title of the material—"We Do Not Want To Become Debtors"—revealed the author's critical attitude toward the state of affairs at the plant, and his desire to get to the bottom of the "painful" production issues which, unfortunately, are typical of many enterprises in the machine-building complex.

The plant is failing to honor its contractual obligations. In August the collective was supposed to supply 60,000 motors for washing machines. But it dispatched only 50,000. Why? A commonplace reason: The plant is constantly being let down by its own suppliers, who supply one of the basic components of these motors—stators. Over the last 8 months it has received 75,000 fewer stators than it needs. They have managed to compensate for some of the shortfall using their own resources: A sector has been organized at the "Mikrodivigatel" Plant for manufacturing these stators. Nevertheless, clients have found themselves 54,000 motors short. This means that 54,000 washing machines, the demand for which is not being met anyway, never reached the stores....

So we have a vicious circle of mutual contractual irresponsibility. It is easy to see where these breaches of contractual discipline, and the resulting rush work, lead: To deviations from technological discipline and the most flagrant bad workmanship in the manufacture of goods.

In the machine-building complex an average of only 85 percent of output is accepted immediately each month. And in the first 6 months of this year alone, goods worth R10.5 million were totally rejected. But even the most careful monitoring by the state acceptance system cannot totally prevent shoddy workmanship. The number of claims for the replacement of goods is still high. As far as some goods are concerned, the number of complaints is even increasing rather than decreasing. In 1987 as compared to 1985 the number of replacement claims for tractors had increased by a factor of 1.2 and by a factor of 1.8 for grain-harvesting combines.

It is particularly annoying when complaints come from abroad regarding products we have exported: The words "Made in USSR" are ceasing to inspire confidence in potential clients. Last year the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building had to satisfy 63 such complaints, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry—89 complaints, the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry—246 complaints, and the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building—2,604 complaints. The cost of satisfying clients' complaints amounted to R490,600, R27,300, R152,000, and R23,549,800 respectively.

Arrhythmic production activity and rush work, particularly at the end of the month, followed by periods of relative inactivity, even total standstill, have a corrupting influence on people and also lead to a sharp drop in labor discipline. We can remember the vigorous measures taken in 1982 to strengthen order and organization in production, and the kind of results they produced.

The year 1986 was still quite good in this respect. But then the decline began. Whereas 10,636,000 man-days were lost in industry in the first half of 1986 as a result of absenteeism, stoppages, and absences authorized by the

administration, the figure reached 12,151,000 in the first half of last year. This figure fell slightly in the first half of this year. But only slightly—11,660,000 man-days were still lost.

So what kind of measures need to be taken to ensure order in production? Administrative penalties, reprimands, dismissals? Well, no one has yet abolished these methods of influence on negligent personnel. However, might not economic levers prove more effective in conditions of economic accountability and self-financing?

These levers do exist in principle. It costs enterprises a pretty penny to satisfy replacement claims and rectify shoddy workmanship. And they have to pay substantial fines for breaching contracts. For example, in the first half of this year alone, fines, penalties, and forfeits paid by enterprises in the machine-building complex totalled R544 million.

However, every enterprise is a client as well as a supplier. While paying fines to its own clients, it can compensate for the loss to a considerable extent with the sums it exacts from its suppliers. So the economic levers appear to be working, but the pinions with which they are coupled are spinning idly.

That is why some specialists are suggesting that fines, penalties, and forfeits exacted be paid into special State Bank accounts. If an enterprise pays off its debts it will get back the amount exacted from it, but if it does not this money will be transferred to the state budget. This is the only way to break the chain of mutual financial irresponsibility.

But now let us go back to the article in the newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA. Its author writes that the labor collective council at the "Mikrodivigatel" Plant appealed to the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry with the request to either bring order to the supply situation (the suppliers are also part of this sector) or lower the target. A request as natural as it is traditional. But we have already satisfied ourselves as to how ineffectual these traditional requests and reproaches are. The economic reform opens another way to solve these problems: Direct, horizontal ties between enterprises. Labor collective councils as well as administrators should be involved in these ties and contacts. Mutual obligation, mutual responsibility, and mutual discipline must become components of the economic reform.

New Highway Opened Across Caucasus Mountains

PM1410093388 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 October 1988 Morning Edition front-pages a TASS-attributed photofeature under the heading "All-Weather Transcaucasus Highway," marking the opening of a new north-south road across the mountains.

The feature comprises two photographs, one showing highway official Yuriy Bezhashvili sitting in a car, the other an elevated section of highway. The unattributed caption reads:

"North Osetian ASSR. The Transcaucasus Motor Highway, which links the RSFSR with the Transcaucasian republics by the shortest possible route, is now open. The construction workers have had to overcome many difficulties: The road crosses mountain rivers and ravines. Structures to protect against avalanches have been erected at danger points along the highway. The biggest motor tunnel in the country has been built under the precipitous Rokskiy Pass. Once some additional facilities to protect against avalanches and landslips have been constructed, the Transcaucasus Motor Highway will be open all year round, in all weathers."

Agricultural

Central Committee Agricultural Conference Opens

Participants Noted

LD1210203888 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 12 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A meeting with leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex using lease contracting, with employees of leasing collectives, secretaries of party raykoms, scientists, and agricultural specialists opened today at the CPSU Central Committee. The meeting was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Issues on the development of leasing relations in the country's agro-industrial complex were comprehensively discussed at the meeting. The meeting was summed up by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Vlasov, Maslyukov, Baklanov; Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; and Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Office for Engineering.

A full account of the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee will be transmitted tomorrow on the First Program of Central Television at 1830 [1530 GMT].

Ligachev Absent

OW1310101888 Beijing XINHUA in English
0100 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (XINHUA)—Soviet Communist Party Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev presided over a party Central Committee [meeting] here today to discuss agricultural leasing, the official news agency TASS reported.

Yegor Ligachev, whose duty was shifted from ideological chief to chairman of the Agricultural Commission of the Central Committee, was nevertheless absent at today's meeting.

The meeting, attended by heads of collective and state farms and agro-industrial complexes using lease contracts, workers of lease teams, secretaries of district party committees, scientists and experts, "thoroughly discussed issues of developing lease relations in the country's agro-industrial complex," the Soviet news agency TASS said.

Gorbachev summed up the results of the meeting. TASS did not give a detailed report about Gorbachev's speech, saying that a detailed account of the meeting will be published in the press.

Gorbachev Opens Conference

LD1310214988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Speech by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at the opening of the CPSU Central Committee Conference on Agriculture in Moscow on 12 October—recorded]

[Text] Well, first of all, I welcome you all, comrades, to our party's Central Committee. We have invited representatives of the agro-industrial complex. The managers of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are present here. A considerable part of this staff is directly represented by managers of lease collectives and by lessees. Workers in the agro-industrial processing sector are represented here, as well as a group of secretaries of rural rayon party committees, ministers, and all other comrades connected with this important complex and with its functioning, and in whose great results, good results, all society and all the working people of our country have a vital interest.

In general, we decided to hold this meeting, a meeting of the Central Committee, to consult you and seek your advice. We have chosen a time when the harvest work has already somewhat abated, although no less important matters are already starting in agriculture. Winter is approaching. Here and there, we are already preparing for winter. This is the first thing.

Secondly, we have borne in mind that the winter period lies ahead—a time when it is necessary to consider in depth the results of the work of the past year and of the

previous years of the 5-year plan, from the following point of view: What is happening? What have those 3 years shown? What must we concentrate on? What tasks must be accomplished as a matter of urgency, without wasting any time? And what must we completely do away with, once and for all?

I have in mind that which is slowing down progress in agriculture and the whole agrarian sector, and is thus impeding the resolution of such an important social and economic and sociopolitical task as the country's food supply.

But, in addition, these months will probably be the most active in all the years of restructuring as far as the transition to new forms of management goes. Present here are those who have already been engaged in this process, and who have gained their first experience, and probably joy and sorrow, and some who have already been dealt blows of one kind or another. But this is all necessary. This is all necessary. It is a school of harnessing new methods of management. And this school is always for those who are the first to start and who are mastering and proceeding along unbeaten paths.

But, after all, it is now our intention that the whole of agriculture and the whole agrarian sector should take this path. And this means that a great deal will be done already in these months, in autumn and winter. Indeed, there will probably now be many discussions within kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other divisions of the agrarian sector, involving managers, specialists, and economists, and involving party and soviet personnel, on how to set in motion the process of harnessing new methods, the process of restructuring economic relations in the countryside, and how to set it in motion in a fundamental way.

We have nothing to hide here; we have come to this meeting with a long-term aim. We will hold a plenum of the Party Central Committee in February and will generalize the experience of past years, in essence the experience of the whole period of managing agriculture in the years of socialism and, in particular, the experiences of recent years when we moved on to mastering new methods of economic management in agriculture, as I have already said, and we should think over all of this and work out a long-term policy, an agrarian policy. Our country needs that. And the country—and of course the national complex...because in its own right, the agrarian sector here requires that all others take part in its resolution—without this it is impossible to solve the food question; it is a nationwide matter and affects all branches of the national economy. Here, it is as if the achievements of the entire national economic complex and of all branches were summed up. For this reason, all branches, and all our economic sectors, must clearly identify what their contribution should be for the future, and what their role should be to ensure that the agrarian question is resolved in such a way that...it should produce, in the near future, and especially in times to come,

solid, reliable results, in order to remove, once and for all, remove not only the acuteness, but in principle, the tension of providing the people with food.

But, of course, the agricultural sector workers and the rural workers themselves are above all interested in this in order to decide whether they should associate themselves with this or not, whether it is reliable or not, is this an experiment or is it a long-term state policy? After all, all this is justified, because when one takes such a thing as the lease contracting, and if one is to tie oneself to this matter for many years to come—and not only oneself, but to even educate one's own family and one's own children in this spirit—then this does require clarity. It requires clarity.

I recall that when I was in Krasnoyarsk recently, and you probably noticed—although you cannot broadcast everything—that there was a very active discussion on the question of the fate of cooperatives, the cooperative movement in the country, because it is also getting under way, gaining strength. Not everything is going smoothly. It turned out that some of our cooperators were not among our honest people who are indeed ready to display initiative, quick-wittedness, economic independence, and enterprise, to help society tackle many questions which the large enterprises are perhaps not up to, and to close the gaps which exist in our national economy. After all, all this is understandable and this policy, which relies on the past experience of our country and people and of our friends, was designed for this purpose. However, you can see that at the same time, not all is proceeding smoothly here. And it turned out that there were rogues among the cooperators you know!

A kind of public has turned up which, in point of fact, has obtained, in the form of the cooperative, an opportunity to legalize its illegal income and acquisitions in a dishonest way. And now it almost seems that they are going to flourish. All this is taking place, and do not think that we do not see it and do not know about it. We do. Everything is known, all the more so in the present-day glasnost.

But we are not panicking, we are studying all these things. I don't think we should drag out the study of these problems; rather, we must find economic levers, to influence this type of phenomena. But in principle, we support the cooperative sector. And this is roughly how I discussed the matter with the people of Krasnoyarsk. But all the same, one person asked: Mikhail Sergeyevich, do you personally support the cooperatives, or are you against them?

And why does he need to know the view and position of the general secretary? I said: I suppose you are a cooperator? Yes, he said, I am a cooperator, I am involved in this matter. But I also want to be clear on whether to tie myself to it or not. I could see that this was a decent man,

so to speak, that he judged things correctly, but that he wanted to clarify things for himself. And in this respect, I think, everyone is waiting to see what the long-term agricultural policy will be.

Full clarity must be introduced here for all of society, for all the sectors of the economy, for they all participate. And of course, this clarity is necessary, first and foremost, for agricultural workers. And in order to engage in such a policy, which would rest both on science and accumulated experience, we must always obtain authentic information, especially about new processes, because I think that our agrarian policy will first and foremost be oriented toward absorbing everything which has been accumulated in recent years; and in this sense I would say this meeting is also valuable for us, for the leadership, for the Central Committee, and for the government. So you see, the hall may appear to be small, but it is intended that way, so that in this hall it will be possible to express, formulate, and utter one's appraisal openly and freely on questions of agrarian policy: how you appraise it today, and how you would like to see it moving in the future. This hall allows us, so to speak, to work in a business-like manner. We have not invited you here to deliver speeches, but rather to obtain information from you and to give you the opportunity, you understand, to express your thoughts. This is not a question of a literary treatment, but of an in-depth treatment of this idea. So let all who wish to do so take the floor. Our talk here should be held in a democratic fashion. It seems to have become clear to us now that there are several key problems which must be resolved before things will work in the agrarian sector. As we understand it, without a transfer to and mastery of new methods of management, the agrarian sector will not pick up the necessary tempo and will not emerge onto a new level, either as regards yields and productivity of farms, or in the restructuring of the countryside as a whole.

For this reason, this is the first group of most important problems. They must be resolved, and it is necessary to get down to this task in a serious manner. Because there are those, to put it bluntly, who, in approaching this complex matter, have come to a halt, and have been shifting from one leg to another for 2 or 3 years. Yet life demands that the earth should produce, and that livestock units should produce, because that produce is greatly needed by our society. That is the first thing that would appear to be clear here.

But here, too, there are, after all, various forms. For this reason it is still worth defining this matter more precisely later. But, at the same time we see that our agriculture, a large-scale agriculture, based also, by and large, on solid, modern resources, production resources, can progress at the same time, not only by way of harnessing new methods of management, but also on the basis of harnessing progressive, intensive technologies. And this relates both to cultivation and animal husbandry.

For this reason, I would say that these are two definite sides to the same coin—the harnessing of new methods of management, and technical progress based on new technologies, based on the achievements of biotechnology, breeding, equipment, chemistry, and everything that is then synthesised to form these same intensive technologies.

Of course, comrades, the third thing is, all the same, that someone has to harness these progressive methods, someone has to harness these intensive technologies: the individual. For this reason, without the individual, provided for in the village—well provided for—[Gorbachev changes thought] ... and we know that we have quite a few problems here, especially in individual regions; although there are also regions, large ones, where the countryside is a match for the town. But all the same, I think that for the time being, one has to say that it lags heavily behind, especially so far as the social infrastructure is concerned.

For this reason, the social reconstruction of the countryside [Gorbachev changes thought] ... this is the next group of questions without whose resolution an agrarian policy will fail, will fail. Because this, the resolution of these questions, creates a social environment in which the individual feels well, the family lives well, and then he can devote himself to work and give his best, as they say, with the support of both science and equipment, and using the methods, the new methods of management.

The fourth group of issues is, of course, problems concerning processing, storage, and transport. This is so important and so urgent at the present time that resources should be directed primarily here, because, if we were, at the present time, already processing everything that is being produced by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes—were accepting, harvesting, transporting, storing, processing, and delivering it to the shop counters and the consumers—there would be an immediate addition of 25 percent minimum, and 40 percent for some things, comrades.

Economists have calculated that capital investments in precisely storage and processing are, I think, three to four times more effective than in production and growth of agricultural output. Indeed, why produce output, if it is only to be spoiled? This is a paradox. It is altogether more than a paradox—it is an impermissible paradox.

These four major groups of problems, then, are all of paramount importance. They must be solved. Moreover, let me tell you that work is under way in all these areas in our country. It has already been laid down in a program, and I should say that the 13th 5-year Plan, on which the State Planning Committee and now the Government are at work, and which will later be discussed, takes this all into account, and the priorities for the agrarian complex are already being provided for both in the 13th 5-year Plan period and in the longer term.

Well, let us say a few words about the latter matter, namely, processing. We have attached enormous significance to this, have allocated almost R80 billion of capital investments for 70, or rather, for 7 years, I think...[Sound of voices murmuring their agreement]...and have brought in all the sectors of machine-building, including the defense sectors. I think that, if one is to speak about what is now open for discussion, there is a backwardness. But all this is being worked on, and as early as within the next 2 years, the workers of the agrarian sector should get the feeling that things in this regard will be changing for the better.

Or take the problem of roads! What an acute problem this is, both economically and socially! Again we have adopted a special program, particularly for those areas that are simply at fever-pitch over their lack of roads. They are unable to go on living without this, let alone develop. I have the Nonchernozem Zone in mind. We have allocated for this area R35 billion. For how many years is this intended?

[Unidentified voice] For 7 years.

[Gorbachev continues] It is also for 7 years. What is more, since there are also difficulties in that zone with builders and the construction base, we have brought military builders in there too. The military has responded to this, has gone there and is now already getting under way with this work.

I think there will be tremendous progress in this work as a result of the implementation of that program. It may perhaps be worth mentioning today that we do not always cope, we do not always do what is set out in our programs in good time. This ought to be mentioned and I think that the comrades from the center who are present here have to reach conclusions from this, the leaders of the relevant industries. All these tasks must be tackled and provided with the proper back-up, they have to be kept sight of, and the financing and material-technical...matters relating both to financing and material-technical supply, and the relevant matters relating to development of the construction base for tackling those tasks, all have to be solved in good time. What is needed here is discipline, good organization and responsibility, and I think that we shall thoroughly enhance this responsibility.

So it seems that we have already sorted a few things out for ourselves. I am still working up to my main point. You know, comrades, we are not getting returns from everything that we have put into the countryside over the past few years—and we have put in a lot, a great deal, comrades. In this connection I would like to quote the following figures to back up what I want to substantiate later. The average annual gross agricultural product for 1986-87 increased by comparison with the average annual level in the 1966-70 period by 1.4 times. Over the same period capital investment in agriculture grew by 2.7 times. In 1987 collective and state farms had fixed

productive assets worth R347 billion, which is 3.3 times more than in 1970, when they were worth R106 billion. So you can see the enormous amount of capital investment. We're talking about several-fold increases, but they are not producing returns, they are not producing returns. The state has not obtained what it was counting on. What's the reason for this? Still, comrades, the main thing now is that economic relations in the countryside clearly do not stimulate creative, active and enterprising work by man in the countryside. Let us say bluntly that it is a matter, after all, of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We were particularly aware of this just before the May 1982 plenum of the Central Committee. The situation was already as follows: people went out to work, and, well, of course, did something, and there was output. But all that, I would say, was very much connected...[Gorbachev changes thought] or rather was marked by people's playing such a passive role—both specialists and, especially, rank-and-file staff.

As we have seen, this was not something that existed in the countryside alone; it existed throughout our economy. But in the present case, it is a matter of our agrarian sector. What was it connected with? It did nevertheless happen, one way or another, that on kolkhozes and sovkhozes there was a particularly noticeable alienation of man from the land and from the means of production—stronger and greater than in other sectors of the national economy. That alienation had taken place. A person would come here as a hired worker often so as to work certain hours. One has to earn one's living, of course. There was, ultimately, an incentive. But it was certainly not the situation in which the peasant should have been—on the land or on the livestock farm. After all, it is the whole of the living world, the land, certain processes. One must know the land—how it lives, how it breathes. It has to be felt. If you're on a livestock farm and you're working with animals, once again it's a matter of living organisms. From our childhood onward, you understand, people remember—especially anyone who grew up in the countryside: It is contact with the animal world. All this makes a person and his ideas completely different. It is the peasant psychology. There is a peasant's way of life. Through these relationships, when we alienated man from the land and from the means of production, we changed him from being the master on this land into being a day-laborer.

I glanced [chuckles] at Comrade Vasilyev, the writer—Ivan Afanasyevich, an old friend of mine, and an old friend of yours too, probably, if you read. He, after all, has been connected with the countryside all his life. Everything, at least, that he has written indicates precisely that.

It was he who gave currency to this term day-laborers, that, indeed, is how it is. And if you take into account the fact that this happened against a background where the countryside did not receive, or was undersupplied, in connection with the fact that the equivalent exchange

with other branches of the national economy was transgressed, and that it was behind in its development, and especially in social development, and a person observing all this would make a choice and go off to the town, break away from the village and the land, chuck it all in. And those who remained behind, although they would remain, they also had a certain...[Gorbachev changes thought] this would register in a certain way in his conscience—that there are towns and splendid settlements there, everything is accessible, and the living conditions there, and goods and recreation, and so on, and so forth, and the day was a regular one; and with those who remained on the land this also evoked a definite reaction, it transformed their attitude to things, and this also affected the results of work in the countryside.

The kolkhozes, by virtue of the fact that breaches occurred, having not obtained the required results, found themselves in a grave economic situation and it came to a point where no one particularly bothered to strive for higher results, apart from a certain percentage of front-ranking farms. It happened that a kind of psychology was formed: If the labor of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and of the toilers of the countryside is not appreciated, if the state appropriates it for next to nothing, then in the long run well, we'll take the same attitude. And that's how it was, and on the eve of the May 1982 Central Committee Plenum, the kolkhozes took the credits, and every year R15-17 billion of this credit was not returned.

Nevertheless it took an immense effort to prove that it was necessary to find R16 billion—as was decided at the May plenum—to include it in prices, and to create preconditions for the farms to make a profit from their work. And thus not just to give this money away through the State Bank, but to ensure that it is earned, through output, through prices, and even this was difficult to prove: The fate of the agrarian sector mattered so little to a huge number of people working here at the center.

In general we are paying dearly for all of the serious distortions and omissions in agrarian policy, the foundations of which were formulated by Lenin in his time. In Lenin's time, the most difficult moments, even in the years of the Civil War—so strongly did he feel the need to preserve this union between the working class and the peasantry, between the town and the countryside—that even in these severe, crucial and difficult times, the party resolved these questions. There was the question of the peasant of average means and the correct resolution of it. The policy with regard to the peasant of average means ensured victory over Kolchak and was a turning point in the Civil War. Finally, NEP—and the Civil War was still going on then, too, but what a turning-point it was—and again on the basis of this policy lay the consideration of the real interests of the peasantry and the consideration of the real processes taking place in the country.

The long period which then followed, during which an understanding of the problems of the countryside alternated with more of an adequate understanding and an underestimation of them, led to the position which we have today and which we have begun to rectify—and it needs to be improved. In this matter I would say the following: Today, comrades, the main thing is to halt this process of the depeasantization of the country and to return man to the land as a master with full rights. Herein lies the point of restructuring economic relations in the countryside.

The experience which we have today and which we have acquired during the past few years shows that this is a feasible task, although it must not be oversimplified. During this time the people have also changed to a certain extent, and a different psychology has already formed which is not all that easy to break. Therefore the first, and most important, thing is the restructuring of economic relations, and what is interesting is this: I went and looked at the work results of collectives which just this year transferred to new methods of management, to the leasing system.

There are striking changes comrades, striking changes. The year is not yet over but it is already clear what is happening. The gap in crop productivity is at best 1 tonne to 1 and 1/2 tonnes between the leasing collective and the ordinary farm, and there is a minimum of 500-600 kg of additional milk, and in the main 1,000 kg. In one year, 1,000 kg! And immediately all of the indicators change: productivity, the correlation between productivity and wages, and the pay increases—but it has been completely earned, as it were. Its a quite different [word indistinct]. So when we say we need new systems of machinery using new technology, that we need fertilizer systems in order to maintain the fertility of the soil, and much else—all of this is correct and needs to be resolved, but on the basis of a new attitude. Returning land and the means of production to the peasant as the master immediately realizes human potential, you see, and we want to devote today's talk to this.

What do the years of work show, these 2 to 3 years? What is happening with the mastering of new methods, especially leasing relations, the lease? Contracting is a major step. The lease is also a type of contracting, but higher, so to speak—lease contracting. When a person takes both land and production for a definite period of time and then depends only in economic terms on a farm, or in some other way, depending upon whomever he obtained this land from, this is truly something else. We need to elucidate what is happening and what is shown by the first experience, what has succeeded here and what has not succeeded, what needs to be taken into account, what needs to be resolved at the top—especially as we are preparing a law on leasing and we think that a new law is needed on land use. We are preparing all of this at the moment, and we need to absorb all positive experience

and consider negative experience, because experience consists of this: of what has vindicated itself and of what has not vindicated itself, and this should be thrown out.

Yet why is it that leasing is not progressing, or else progressing only slowly? Why is it being fought both by managers and specialists? Why is it that many kolkhoz and sovkhov workers are fighting it as well? Of course here, once again, is the key to the fact, comrades, that the practice of paying money that has not been earned is continuing. So why then is leasing needed? Why think about the land, why lose sleep at night trying to think things out, so to speak? We are paying, continuing to pay money, but not for output. And if that is the case, then people have no need for leasing.

If in Omsk oblast discussion began at one farm on why Gaziks [small cars] were being given to a lease collective, what sort of hothouse conditions were these, you understand, and they wanted to put it this way and under these slogans to discredit...[Gorbachev changes thought]...it turns out, someone's offering justifications and explaining. Wait, why do I need the Gaziks. All of them are returning back to the village by 5-6 o'clock and I work until dark, they're saying. Everything is simple, you understand. This reminds me of a situation that at one time appeared in Ilf and Petrov's "Notebook": that someone was accused of driving to the bathhouse in a state car, and justifies himself by saying that for 2 years now he hasn't had a bath, you understand. [slight laughter] That is how it is there. No, he really needs a Gazik to arrive as the day is dawning and to leave when it is dark. And at this time the others are already living it up. And what is taking place there on the land and at the livestock farm and on the tracts of land: That is no longer of interest to them. Well, you understand how great the difference is. And there is a struggle there. (There will be a serious struggle, a struggle which is not easy.

I can see, comrades, that probably the main thing needed to spur on the processes...[Gorbachev changes thought] the process of transition to leasing consists of ceasing to pay unearned money in kolkhozes and sovkhovs. This has to be done resolutely, beginning as early as 1 January. The question will immediately arise of what to do with loss-making farms, and so on. But comrades, what is a loss-making farm? This is a phenomenon which also requires explanations, so to speak, and, well, conclusions...conclusions.

Look what is taking place in our country. The wage fund at the loss-making farms, if taken in the country as a whole, is 1.8 times larger than the gross income of these farms. So this is what I am saying: The gross incomes are inadequate, but the wages keep being paid.

And what are the figures for the profitable farms? The wages—the wages fund—makes up 65 percent, 65. And 35 percent already goes, so to speak, toward the development of everything else.

That is in fact what the picture is. And now we have 6,500 such [loss-making] kolkhozes and sovkhovs throughout the country. They have at their disposal 21 percent of agricultural lands and 18 percent of the plowed fields. Well, consider carefully, comrades, what is taking place. These are parasites, one can say. Well, the people must not be accused and I would not want to accuse the people. Probably in each case the history of each farm will show [what has happened]. But they must not remain parasites. One must not accept such phenomena.

Look, take Krasnoyarsk kray. The Nazarovskiy sovkhov, which is well-known and about which I spoke when I was in Krasnoyarsk, and the (Pasossenskiy) sovkhov are both located in the same rayon. The yields at the Nazarovskiy sovkhov farm are three quintals higher. The milk-yield from cows is 4,500 at the Nazarovskiy sovkhov and a little under 2,300—not even 2,300—at the other sovkhov. So one gets a difference of 2,200. Is that right? No, 3,200, a two-fold difference.

[Unidentified speaker] A difference of 2,200

[Gorbachev continues] Yes. Labor productivity is twice as high at the Nazarovskiy sovkhov. But what about pay? The average monthly wage of one worker in 1987 was R236 at the Nazarovskiy sovkhov and 236 at the (Pasossenskiy) sovkhov. Well, how can this be possible, comrades?

Or take the following case. Kritovskiy sovkhov in (Malo-tolskiy) rayon of Krasnoyarsk kray is unprofitable, but the average monthly wage of its chief specialist in 1987 was R270. That is at a loss-making farm. In addition he received a bonus of six times his monthly salary amounting to R1,620, and the average monthly earnings was R411. Surely we cannot raise the level of agriculture and the economy as a whole in this fashion! I think it is easier for us to do without them.

Well, so as to balance the situation, let me refer to the Kagalnikskiy sovkhov and the Rodina kolkhoz in Morozovskiy rayon of Rostov oblast. Look at what a difference there is. The Kagalnikskiy sovkhov first and the Rodina kolkhoz second. Let me quote figures. Yields: 31.7 and 13.3 [quintals per hectare]. Grain production: 28,000 tonnes and 3,000 tonnes. Grain sales to the state: 20,000 tonnes and 2,000 tonnes. Milk yield per cow: 3,150 and 1,947. Milk production: 5,600 and 595 tonnes. Milk sales to the state: 5,379 and 563 tonnes. Labor productivity: 15,000 and 10,000. Average monthly wage: R206 and R190. Profitability: 64.7 and 2.8. There is almost no difference in pay. A symbolic difference only. And yet there is a twofold to three-fold difference in all the performance figures. That was Rostov oblast.

Now here is Zaporozhye oblast for Ukrainian comrades. The farms are the Pervoye Maya kolkhoz and the Pobeda kolkhoz in Volnyanskiy rayon. Let me specify just the following economic indicators. Profitability: 52.7 percent at the Pervoye Maya farm and 13.4 percent at the Pobeda kolkhoz.

In the first the profit is 1,000,310 and in the second 270. Average monthly salary of machine operators: In the first 278 and in the second 292; of a milkmaid—in the first 220 and in the second 259. The Pobeda Kolkhoz, compared with the Pervoye Maya kolkhoz, obtains a lower yield of grain crops by 35 percent and of sunflowers by 17 percent, and in livestock productivity milk yields are 19 percent lower and weight gains 32 percent lower. Profits are almost five times less, profitability is almost four times less, but the average monthly salary of a machine operator is 5 percent more and that of a milkmaid is 17 percent more.

In Donetsk oblast, the Rossiya and Chkalov kolkhozes in Volnovakhiyskiy rayon: In the Rossiya profitability is 65.4, in the Chkalov kolkhoz it is 11.6. The average monthly salary of a machine operator is, in the first, 256, and, in the second, 260. The average monthly salary of a pig-tender is, in the first, 208 and, in the second, 227.

And, comrades, I have here also Belorussia, and Moldavia, and Latvia for the Baltic area. The 50th anniversary of the USSR sovkhoz and the Islitsa Sovkhoz. Take a look. Yields of grain crops are in the first 59 and in the second 30. Sugar beet—367 and 220. Milk yields—in the first 4,264 and in the second 3,765. Profits—in the first 677 and in the second 10,000. Profitability—in the first 12 percent and in the second 0.5 percent. Average monthly salary in the first is 227, and in the second 245.

Comrades, I could continue in this vein. There are many such proofs. So, evidently the main thing that is holding back—the main thing that is holding back the transition to leasing—is the fact that the practice is still continuing among us of paying unearned money to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. As long as that practice exists, excuse me, but no one will be fool enough to switch to relations based on the lease. That is the first conclusion we must draw, and I ask you to think about whether we are drawing the correct conclusion or not. [audience murmurs: it's correct]

The second thing. [Gorbachev pauses] Nevertheless, there is the mood of the people, a desire to transfer—we are observing this on a massive scale. But it comes up against the reluctance of specialists and farm managers.

Recently you read about what happened at a meeting in Mogilev Oblast in Belorussia—about how a kolkhoz manager fought against the specialists, and how the specialists put up a systematic and skillful [struggle], using all the education that they had been given by Soviet rule, in order to dull people's awareness, plant confusion in their minds, sow mistrust towards leasing

and thus stop the process. After all, they would say to the peasant: Why do you need a lease? At the moment, once you've done your stint, off you go, and whatever else happens doesn't matter to you. But if you take all this on, it will hang over you day and night. How will you go on holiday? Will there be any holiday? In general, they had clearly been making just such, you know, provocative remarks.

So the collective had a meeting and supported the farm manager. They took a decision to go over to leasing and began to discuss the specialists—what each of them was worth, and who could, or had to, be employed. Now, at the new stage, to make him work, on a competitive basis. A specialist was nominated for some particular area where he was required. There were several people, and the selection was made through a vote. Some people were simply dismissed. They were those who understood and were not interested in it.

I have already said once that, firstly, lease contracting shows the extent to which many of our specialists are working successfully. Although having all this at their disposal, they have been unable for years to ensure not only a spurt, but even constant growth in the yields and productivity of the land. And then suddenly a lessee takes over and, in a year, you understand, achieves the results that I have spoken about, and you yourselves, the representatives of lease collectives, know that that's the way things are, so to speak. Then the question arises: What sort of specialist is this? But they are wrong to take everything personally. That's not the point. The point is not just that some specialist did not work hard enough and did not fully perform his function as a specialist. They found it difficult to perform it in that human situation, in the real-life position, as it were, in the economic situation that had been created in the agrarian sector. But now that man's attitudes toward labor, the land, the means of production, and work in general—peasant labor—will change, the peasant really does need a knowledgeable and experienced person to be nearby. It's another matter that some specialists belong to neither one nor the other category. But that's another matter. Leasing will show things up; no peasant will pay, or employ, or conclude a contract with someone incapable of helping him. People are fully aware of who is worth what. They are perfectly aware, and quickly get to the bottom of things.

I have noticed that the great mass of people want a specialist on hand; they particularly want specialists to join leasehold collectives and lead them. And I think this has to be welcomed and encouraged. It is precisely for this that you chose your profession, this is why you took that path, and that choice now has to be put into practice to see whether you haven't in fact made a mistake and found yourself in the role of specialist by chance. And if it is a matter of chance, then you simply have to move into another sphere, so to speak, where you can do what suits you. Leasing ought to put everything in its place.

I think that under conditions of the transition to the new management methods the overwhelming mass of specialists will find their place, one which will be organically incorporated, so to speak, in these leasehold collectives, and as a rule these are the people who will head leasehold collectives. Or else perhaps...[Gorbachev changes thought] I see that another form has also arisen, whereby those same specialists remain attached to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the leasehold collectives conclude contracts for their services or consultations. This is also an acceptable form; those are things which ought to be decided, so to speak, at the local level, with due consideration for the way things are actually shaping up in each individual farm.

Therefore, I think that we now have to firmly redirect the specialists' attention, in such a way that they all begin to sense and require the transition to the new methods. As I see it this is the second reason why leasing is progressing slowly, even though a considerable mass of the people wants to become involved with the new forms of management. But perhaps your experience and observations will show what is needed here and what action should be taken in this respect.

The question arises...[Gorbachev changes thought] many have written to ask what they should do when they apply to transfer to leasing and the manager turns them down? What should they do if the specialists are against it? I get letters saying you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, have said that nobody can turn down a person who wishes to transfer to leasing; that's what you have said, but what happens next if at the local level they don't want to conclude leasing contracts? What are we supposed to do? To whom can we apply? The Central Committee, the Politburo and the government and let them solve everything? How can we, when we have 50 or more thousand kolkhozes and sovkhozes and 20 or more million agricultural workers? Are they supposed to apply to here for solutions? I think, of course, that we have to solve many issues in the leasehold contracts themselves—there has to be a law, a legal basis has to be created—but also, in my view, many are suggesting correctly that it is the soviets—the soviets, soviet power—which should be the arbiters in such cases and put everything in its proper place.

Therefore I think that even in general we need such a solution, even a temporary one, so to speak, so that the soviets might examine it forthwith, from a position of rendering assistance to lessees and giving them support in order to overcome all the braking factors which arise along the road of the development of leasing relations. And if you can suggest anything more valuable, more effective and more realistic in this regard, then let's exchange (?views).

Finally—what is leasing supposed to be like? Within the framework of a kolkhoz or a sovkhoz? Or some sort of family—a version of a family smallholding—or something else altogether? Is it only employees of kolkhozes

and sovkhozes, or others—employees from rayon settlements or workers' settlements, who are somewhere around—or a person who has decided to move out from the town to engage in leasing? What's to be done with him, and so on? I think—well now, I would not want to give a categorical answer here, but, in principle, our approach remains the one which we set out both at the cooperative congress and on other occasions.

Comrades! Our kolkhozes and sovkhozes are, on the one hand, those enterprises and those economic associations which we are subjecting to serious criticism—but I must tell you that, within the framework of the collective and state farm even, it is possible—and perhaps even necessary, and even expedient—to open up the potential of these collective and state farms, specifically by setting up leasing subunits which will conclude with the board of the kolkhoz or with the management [sentence as heard]. But in this process a lessee does not have to think then about where he is to sell his goods, where the oil-filling center is, where the garages are, or anything else—that is to say, the whole infrastructure about which any cooperative member in any other country always has to start thinking already exists in this country. All we need are correct economic relations, and economic relations centered on the purchase price.

I have been to France, and I have been to Canada. A private farmer is a private farmer, but he has...[Gorbachev changes thought]...he joins a cooperative, which provides him with chemical services. He joins a technical service association. He joins a selling cooperative: he is given quotas for sales, for how much he can sell where, and so on and so forth—a whole system! In our country, many of these questions can be dispensed with through the fact that within the framework of a farm they... [Gorbachev changes thought] and I think that what is of value here is the work of both the (Zybinskiy) sovkhoz and other farms which—and this has happened in Chita and everywhere—when the Kolkhoz and the Sovkhoz are opened up through the establishment of leasing subunits and cooperatives, then I think that this is the main area, because it permits us to use what we already have, comrades, what we already have, this whole infrastructure. In short, I would say this is the main direction. But this does not rule out a person wanting to become an owner and to set up a family farm, this does not contradict socialism either, this does not contradict it. He will be working on the land which is national property, and he works in a country where power belongs to the workers and peasants, to the working people; this is the power of the working people, and it will determine the basic standards of mutual relations. So, this is in the interests of socialism and not against them. Therefore, I think there are no insurmountable contradictions here, and there can be the most different versions. Well, firstly in Belorussia, the Baltic Region, and the Nonchernozem Zone, there are places which are very cut off. And if someone decides to go back to his old desolate farmstead—and I had a letter the other day from the Baltic, from Lithuania, I think, and it said: Thanks for returning

our farmsteads to us—it's okay that he was attracted to the land, contracted certain relations with one farm or another, or some organization or another that was empowered to solve such things, came back, and is now using what had been neglected and unused in recent years. Great possibilities open up here to utilize all of this.

But you probably have more detailed observations on this matter, and so you must share your views. At any rate, we would like you to sincerely and truthfully describe the process of the transition to lease-contracting relations, its achievements, its problems and difficulties, and what must be decided. This is the main question. I would ask you please not to get sidetracked over shortages in one area or another. You probably don't have to add anything; we know all about this—there aren't enough systems and machines for progressive technologies, there isn't enough reliable harvesting equipment, and in every newspaper there is criticism of almost all types of harvesters, which are very unreliable. Although many of them have become productive they are still, so to speak, unreliable from the viewpoint of being put into operation. Or else there is simply a shortage, especially when it comes to fodder-harvesting equipment, in addition to many other things. These are the questions which are being carefully worked on and which will be tackled. They do indeed exist.

I would like to restrict the subject of this conference: lease relations—the current situation and what you would advise the Central Committee and the government to bear in mind, now that the formulation of agrarian policy is being dealt with. And your advice is needed for those who are intended this autumn or winter to transfer to new forms of management. So, from this point of view, your experience is very necessary.

Gorbachev Closing Speech

LD1310234788 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1728 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Concluding address by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the CPSU Central Committee conference on agriculture on 12 October—recorded]

[Text] [Passage indistinct] land and agricultural labor. In this instance I consider myself an optimist, even though the fact is we have lost a very great deal in regard to the countryside dweller and the shaping of the way of life in the country—tremendous losses of a strategic order, comrades. There's no denying it. It is felt by our entire society—such a wealthy country possessing all that is necessary, including the potential of an agrarian sector and its normal functioning—but we have failed to resolve the food question to the required extent. We will now have to act in such a way as to create these premises and involve country dwellers, country toilers, and all who may in the future wish to tie up their destinies and

lives with the agrarian sector [pauses] create these premises to give people the certainty that their labor is highly prized, prized by society, for the prestige of the peasant's work has been dealt I think, a reparable, but heavy blow. Will this be easy? It will be extremely difficult, comrades!

However, this is not our only difficulty with restructuring. We have to say to ourselves honestly that we no doubt did not picture everything when we were mounting restructuring. We can now see that everything is considerably more complex and more difficult, but that has convinced us even more of the need for restructuring. It has convinced us even more. We must, properly speaking, use our values within the context of our socialist choice to revive our society. I think that our socialist structure has the greatest possibilities for revival, for implicit in its foundation and its very nature is an orientation, a tendency toward the human being. The human being is at the center of it. We must restore our human being to ownership by using the potential that lies in socialist ownership. We must create the preconditions so that he is in the position of master, a firm position that is economically and legally reinforced. We must restore the human being to the political process through the machinery of democracy—indeed, through socialist democracy, for no other democracy is capable, as it is not oriented toward it—so that all major decisions at all stages are truly the fruit of the activity of the working people and not of the apparatus, even of the most competent apparatus, even one which is most devoted to the people. We must restore the human being through the improvement of society, the moral and spiritual revival of society, to socialist values, to our morality, to general human values.

All of these are interconnecting vessels, comrades. That's all. This is why we are conducting our restructuring on the basis of all these main directions. I think that everything about which we have been speaking today is also the restoration of the human being to these original positions: that which socialism promises, and should safeguard.

Democratization!

In fact, via the restructuring of production relations and first of all via leasing relations, a colossal democratization of society is taking place—not only of the economy, but of society. Everything is merging together. This is very profound, revolutionary restructuring; a most profound process.

But it is also very important to us because it concerns the very basis and foundations of society. Emanating immediately so to speak from this restructuring are impulses into all spheres of human life and activity. Therefore the restructuring of production relations is the key task. This is true for the whole economy. This is an especially important task for the agrarian sector; a task of paramount importance.

And may there be a great multitude of such forms. I think that now we cannot ... [Gorbachev changes thought] I react very cautiously and with a certain wariness when comrades ask for model farms to be set up. With these models we .. [Gorbachev changes thought] We have had experimental farms, we have had base farms—there is another list of base farms [words indistinct].

Just a minute! Just a minute! So, we have had models for all socialist countries. So we have already tried this both internally and internationally. We have had this.

I think comrades, that the main thing is socialist property, and the potential of this property must be released by galvanizing people, through their position as the key element in production relations. That is where the restructuring should be. This is what it boils down to in the final analysis both in the country and particularly here, for here we are talking about people's contact with the land and living creatures and this contact cannot be severed. When we sever it everything is finished. A gulf is opened and the alienation here takes a particular toll. Therefore, more than anything and above all we need restructuring here, comrades, in production relations in the agrarian sector, in the agrarian sector.

And may everything that meets the specific conditions of some farm or other, of some zone or other, or region, and if it functions and realizes this task, may it receive the right to life!

And in this connection I do not disclaim any form which has been spoken about here. At the basis are the kolkhozes and sovkhozes via the cooperatives, via lease-contracting relations, via people's relationship with the land and the means of production; that's the main thing. And we don't need to reinvent the wheel; we must disclose the potential of cooperatives via the cooperative system. That's the main direction.

And here there may also be differences, because there are different kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There is no denying it. We can see, for example, that in the Non-Chernozem Zone, in order to do this, we must first create conditions for man; and then this process will work. This will not alter the fact that a person should return to the land by way of leasing relations. And in this area—in Estonia, or the Baltic region—there are traditions that have developed, there are little corners somewhere by the river, there is grassland, some kind of microclimate where nature itself has called upon man to organize a farm. It has been neglected and it must be revived. If a livestock farm is more suitable, then let the farm be there, comrades. In other words, I do not disclaim this symbiosis, this is an astonishingly correct idea. It merits being developed and elaborated so it can acquire experience and be put into effect. Industry and agriculture should be integrated in areas where people have left the countryside by means of enhancing these subsidiary farms, or rather creating subsidiary farms, instead of throwing

money to the winds and wasting huge amounts of money for no return. This is acceptable. We must integrate both kolkhozes and sovkhozes with the individual sector through contracts, through, you understand, including the private sector in these production relations, and thereby to an even greater extent, impart an even more socialist nature to all relations, including...to ensure that the term private operator loses its former connotations so that he is seen as a person integrated with collective farming on the basis of socialist property, which plays the leading role.

In short, I do not want to detail everything, but I would support everything that is self-justifying in this main area of putting man back via big changes in economic relations in the countryside. That's the first thought. I believe we should come to a firm agreement about this here. Second, I think that we must state firmly today that we must switch to economic management; then there will not be greenhouse conditions for some and an excuse for others to criticize and say: It is all worthless, we have been shown this several times, we have had front-ranking livestock farms, there have been front-ranking teams, and so on. And here's an example. (Arkadiy Ivanovich), who was one of the last to speak, and all the previous speakers mentioned it: Here it is. They worked for 8 or 9 months, and look, in 1 year, it has been transformed through this restructuring from a farm with losses of R750,000 into a farm that is now operating at a profit, in just 1 year. And in the future it will build on this. For it is through experience and... [Gorbachev changes thought] people, you see, will take heart and, most importantly, will believe in their own strength.

The greatest difficulty is human psychology—people are still wondering whether the leadership is swindling them: What are they dragging us into? We have to state honestly and openly, in order for people to believe in our policy and our practical actions, that this is in the interests of the entire society, the working class and the agricultural worker himself. It is only by bringing these interests into harmony that this can be achieved.

But nonetheless, I think all of us are reaching the conclusion that the experience already accumulated in the country—and there is a great deal of it already—shows that we have to stage an all-out offensive in this area and transfer whole farms at a time.

But here the question arises of how to act. The dialectics are complex. And there has been an argument, a good argument, for thrashing out the truth. I am always saying that while doing this we simply must not repeat... [Gorbachev changes thought] but there already are—so far in the form of forgeries, so to speak—reports indicating that a lot has already been transferred, that 90 or 70 percent of the land is already under contracting, while some have counted elementary contracting as leasing. But it would be even worse if, following on from the figures, a sort of competition is organized simply so that people can distinguish themselves. So it's simply a

matter of having to work. People have to become convinced, they have to see, they have to, so to speak... [Gorbachev changes thought] What's important is that it be their own decision, as I see it. That's the main point.

So the point is probably not that we shouldn't be doing any work in case it looks as if we are forcing people—no, I think on the contrary, in the sense of propaganda and of communicating experience and showing achievements, so that people can see and become acquainted with it, so that this subject is covered on television, through the newspapers, by showing all this drama—just look at the drama that is unfolding. This is what we talked about not long ago at the session. The most interesting thing now is to write about how the restructuring is going, you understand—how it is going is the most interesting thing. All this has to be shown, and the most important thing—the key link—is that the people must make decisions, that, you know, it isn't a matter of people having no choice but to accept instructions from the raykom bureau.

Or is it then for some board or other to serve it up? No. It is so that people adopt it. But what they adopt should appear as a result of this intelligent, sensible, humane, economic, ideological, and psychological work. I think that this is the way it needs to be understood, but nevertheless it is necessary to develop this front, you know, for mastering new methods. It should be through the people themselves, and not through reprimanding conferences or through instructions and directives. It should be through the creation of an atmosphere for the demonstration of experience and through the involvement of people themselves. I think that such a path is acceptable. So I would advocate such an approach. Nevertheless, comrades, I am not saying we should leave people to their own devices. It is a movement of the whole people, and it needs to be conducted on the basis of the participation of the people. It needs to move on to new forms, and through them to higher productivity and to better results.

Society needs the countryside in the very near future to provide more produce of better quality for our entire country. After all, comrades, what a tremendous stimulus that is! The need of the whole country is such that it will, I think, leave no decent person indifferent, and he will join in this process that will bring us on to these new forms of economic management and to new results in agriculture.

I would support the idea of Comrade Vasilii Vasilyevich Shvets that one needs to eliminate wages [as heard]. Everyone will have their own ideas. I see that many different approaches and a very large number of nuances have been expressed here. When one has a gross income, then one starts to get real work. When there is an owner, the antiwaste mechanism begins to operate. Otherwise it will be semileasing and a semipalliative. I think that one should bear this thought in mind.

I would sum up this section like this. We can see causes and we can see objective, subjective, and psychological difficulties. Indeed, we have to see them, comrades. If we do not see them, we shall act like a cavalry charge, so to speak, with a rush, and without preparation, during this time of vast and crucial change. This will accomplish nothing except to discredit our entire agrarian policy at such an important time in our country's development. Therefore it is with the greatest tact, and also the greatest energy, that one needs to proceed so that on a basis of perceiving reality one masters new methods.

We can see that the main cause has to be eliminated, so that people earn their money throughout the country—not just in agriculture, but everywhere. Money must not be paid to anyone if the proper results are not there in terms of the quantity and quality of the work. If we start to implement that, then the people will begin to search, and you will urge one another along the road. I tell you that the position of the specialist and economic planner will also change, since I specified to you the results for which six bonus salaries are guaranteed. People ask what he wants the lease for, as well as all those forthcoming anxious days and nights of managing it, of discussions, and so on, as well as a different pace of life.

So it turns out that we are paying to no purpose: Deductions have yet to be made from his pay. But, on a loss-making farm, he obtains credit, and the one thing he needs in these conditions is a Gazik [small car] to cope with all weather conditions so he can get to the state bank and bring from it a bag full of money. But this is not right. If everyone receives money for the end product according to its quantity and quality, then there will be everything: There will be the means of production, there will be consumer goods, there will be everything. But if everyone tries to pull a fast one in the agrarian sector, in construction, they are no less—even more—past masters at covering their job sheets without the results of work.

Or everywhere else—in transportation and in other fields—we now have top-flight specialists securing unwarranted pay. If only we had economists of such caliber, capable of reacting to the demands of the times, then it might be asked: From where would we get goods, and how would we back the money with goods? So, a fine state of affairs! I must explain, comrades, why I mentioned, referred to, the statements of Comrades Silayev and Voronin about the fact that industry will strongly drive these processes forward with lease relations. They told us. Well, for example, the permanent bureau on machine-building—how did they pose the question? They have loss-making enterprises, and, in the ministry now, and later, even in the [pauses] even in the bureau, they are examining when there will be an end to the loss-making, and what measures and proposals there are. And, specifically, there have emerged... [changes thought] Incidentally, in this sector, 14—14?—enterprises have been declared unprofitable and bankrupt.

When they went to the workers at those works they started conversing with them: Comrades, according to the law we must declare you bankrupt and close you down. What should we do? And then this, these, this, and both this and that collective suddenly studied and discussed all the issues on a businesslike level; for years they had not made any decisions. As a result of the discussions and the study of measures, they set about increasing production, which entails changes in all the indicators, and that means the volume of profit. That is to say: What immense reserves we have lying hidden, comrades!

But we have to go to the people like that and put the question in stark terms. Everybody has got to work, comrades. They have got to work under socialism and, moreover, to work intelligently, collectively, and with an element of enthusiasm and competitiveness, understanding that this is their own society. Therefore, I think, when we put the question like that—that nowhere in society can money be paid without being earned, even to the management apparatus and science, among others, or to anybody, anybody—then I think we will truly be getting to work on the elimination of the main causes, and then everybody will start seeking the answers to how they can enter as quickly as possible into new forms of management, into the most effective forms of management—and this means that they will directly approach lease relations and a restructuring of economic relations, and life will push them there.

I am satisfied with the discussion that has taken place. We will probably try to cast light on it thoroughly, this discussion; as for the many concrete problems that were raised here, which were posed by life, so to speak, we will try to separate them and take them into account when political decisions are elaborated, and most importantly, when we are formulating the laws on leasing and land use, work on which is also progressing.

Comrades, we are thinking of going to a plenum with such strategic thoughts and proposals on matters of agrarian policy, but at the same time, this document will be based on several decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the social structure, issues of science and technology and scientific provision. That is to say, precisely the whole range of subjects about which we have talked today—perhaps chattering too quickly, concentrating on lease relations—but this means that all these matters must absolutely be discussed and resolved in order to create all the prerequisites, both socioeconomic and scientific-technical and legal, for opening even further the road of progress for our agrarian sector. And this—I repeat it once more—is very necessary for the country and the people. It is the most important task we have to solve in the conditions of our restructuring.

I thank you all for your active participation. I think that those who weren't able to speak won't go away offended. Probably, each one of you, after returning, will be a good

agitator for moving this matter forward and giving it the character of a cause concerning the whole nation. I wish you success in these matters. [applause]

You know, comrades, all the editors of our main newspapers have been present here, and our television is here. I don't know whether they have drawn up their plans or not, but we would like very much if the participants, the participants in the conference, could now take part in the editing, so to speak, some as authors or in roundtables and conversations. It would be fine for this to go out to the country.

Conference Reviewed

LD1210200788 *Moscow World Service in English*
1810 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Excerpts] A conference on agriculture was held in the Communist Party's Central Committee. [passage omitted]

At a time when all spheres of life are being restructured in Soviet society this economic branch is getting special attention. Firstly, because too many problems piled up in the field in the previous years. And, secondly, because the country's food problem can be solved only by boosting agricultural production. To cope with it, as the 19th party conference held last summer reemphasized, was one of perestroika's priorities. [passage omitted] During the debates at the conference its participants pointed out that agriculture must be restructured along the lines of full economic independence, self-management and accounting, and balanced individual and public interests. They cite examples of families of four or five persons fully leasing a farm used to be staffed by up to 30 people, and milk yields have been doubled and even trebled. In the conditions of lease, labor efficiency in farming grows several times over, but a transition to lease and family farms does not mean that cooperative and state farms are abandoned. Only on the basis of such farms, and their economic strength, is it possible to solve the countryside's social problems, lay roads and build schools, polyclinics, recreation and sports facilities. At the same time many speakers said that there were still quite a few administrative obstacles to new forms of management in rural areas.

When Mikhail Gorbachev summed up the results of the meeting he noted that to boost agricultural production it was necessary to use all the diverse forms of economic management from agro-industrial enterprises and cooperative farms to cooperative or individual lease of land and farms. There must not be clichés or coercion for uniformity. All forms are good provided they yield concrete practical results in agricultural production growth and in meeting people's requirements. Socialism provides every condition for that. Mikhail Gorbachev urged the need for creating a legal basis for new forms and methods of management in the countryside as soon as possible. Toward this end new laws on the lease and ownership of land are being drafted.

Next February the Communist Party Central Committee is to have a full scale meeting to discuss agricultural production issues.

Poltava Oblast Fulfills Grain Plan

AU1210155488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
7 Oct 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "Poltava Oblast Grain"]

[Text] Poltava Oblast farmers have fulfilled the plan for selling grain to the state. Some 1,091,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to reception centers. The 3-year plan for grain procurements has been overfulfilled. The most ponderable contributions were made by the farms of Globinskiy, Mirgorodskiy, Zenkovskiy, and Lohvitskiy Rayons.

The oblast's kolkhoz and sovkhoz laborers are persistently applying economic management methods, and widely practicing plowless soil tilling. Intensive grain-growing technologies were applied on nearly 500,000 hectares. On many farms the per-hectare yields of winter crops gathered from such fields amounted to 50-60 quintals. In the oblast as a whole, the per-hectare wheat yields averaged 40.7 quintals. About 400,000 tonnes of valuable varieties of wheat were procured, and earned for the farms nearly R11 million.

During the harvest, about 300 new Don-1500 combines showed to advantage in the oblast fields. Thus at the "Zhovten" kolkhoz in Mashevskiy Rayon, combine operator N.B. Verbenko harvested 2,300 tonnes of grain, and at the "Ukraina" kolkhoz in Orzhitskiy Rayon combine operator P.P. Chuprina harvested 2,130 tonnes.

Many collectives of grain reception enterprises proved to be reliable partners of the farmers. Centers for the control of grain trucking operations worked smoothly at most enterprises of this kind, and timetables for grain reception were followed. The collectives of the Lubny seed treating plant, the Mirgorod and the Piryatin grain products combines, and the Grebenka granary operated smoothly and in a coordinated way.

The oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes have provided themselves with seeds. They are storing fodder and continuing grain delivery to the state.

Cotton Harvest Reaches 1.74 Million Tonnes

PM1310152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Kovalevskiy "Agricultural Review": "Cotton Fields Need Protection"]

[Excerpt] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that by 10 October 1,741,000 tonnes of cotton fiber—64 percent of the plan—had been procured. [Passage omitted]

Latest Harvest Statistics

LD1310053588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2050 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Summary] The grain crops harvest is drawing to an end. The USSR Goskomstat reports that an area exceeding 103 million hectares has been threshed. This is 95 percent of sown areas. Sugar beets have been harvested from more than two-thirds of the planted areas. The vegetable crop has been basically harvested. The fodder harvest continues. On the whole, 139 million tonnes of fodder had been stored. This is a little less than last year.

Scientific

Cosmos-1976 Satellite Launched 13 October

LD1310191988 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT
13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—Another satellite, Cosmos-1976, was launched by a booster rocket "Soyuz" in the Soviet Union today.

The satellite carries scientific equipment for the continuation of exploration of outer space.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters: The initial period of revolution 90.2 minutes, the maximum distance from the earth's surface (apogee)—396 km, the minimum distance from the earth's surface (perigee) 206 km, inclination of the orbit 72.9 degrees.

Besides scientific equipment the satellite carries a radio system for precise measurement of elements of the orbit and a radio telemetric system to relate to the ground the data about the functioning of instruments and scientific equipment.

The equipment on board the satellite functions normally.

The coordination computing centre is processing incoming information.

Late AIDS Diagnosis Blamed on 'Complacency'

PM1210154388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Tutorskaya report under the rubric "Only Through Joint Efforts Can We Stop the Spread of AIDS": "Warding Off Disaster"]

[Text] A young woman, Olga G., an operator at the "Teploenergo" Boiler Trust, has died in Leningrad. She was also a student attending evening classes. But it seems she had a secret life which she concealed from everyone: She met with "clients," often foreigners.

So why has this event riveted the attention of journalists? The doors of the union Health Ministry's Quarantinable Infections Main Administration and the office of the USSR main state sanitary inspector have literally been besieged by our colleagues.

"A blood test taken, unfortunately, too late," G. Onishchenko, deputy chief of the Quarantinable Infections Main Administration, said, "showed that the patient was a carrier of the AIDS virus. Olga G. was treated at Leningrad's leading clinics and was in a serious condition. A great many things should have alerted the doctors, but they did not think in time to test her blood for AIDS. It should be emphasized that a carrier of this virus is not always ill himself. The final verdict on the cause of death will be passed in a few days time by a commission of competent specialists working in Leningrad. Urgent measures will be taken to seek out people with whom Olga had intimate contact."

...But now, of course, this woman whose secret life could bring disaster to many people and at least virtually double our AIDS statistics (80 people are officially registered as infected with the virus to date) is no longer in the land of the living. And the search for her partners will, of course, be very difficult. Gennadiy Grigoryevich Onishchenko is absolutely right in suggesting that anyone who has reason for concern should be anonymously tested for AIDS.

"We will be addressing serious criticism to the Leningrad doctors for taking a blood test so late," A. Kondrusev, USSR deputy health minister and USSR main state

sanitary inspector, said. "They should have sounded the alarm much earlier. Given this complacency and inefficiency, it cannot be ruled out that there have been other similar cases that have not received proper attention.

"We are generally insisting that all patients in most clinics be given a blood test for AIDS. But this is being prevented by the shortage of instruments and diagnostic equipment and their inferior quality. It was precisely because of their poor quality that the USSR Health Ministry recently rejected the test systems manufactured by the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry 'Vektor' Science and Production Association. It is made all the more annoying by the fact that a foreign chemical reagent which we bought in limited quantities was used in the test systems.

"We need diagnostic facilities, modern equipment for interpreting test results, disposable syringes, and personal hygiene aids. Without all this, large-scale AIDS prevention is very difficult.

"We are waiting for the results of the commission's work," Aleksandr Ivanovich concluded the conversation. "If the preliminary diagnosis is confirmed, those to blame for its being established so late will be punished."

...The problems in just this one incident are enormous. There is still no compulsory registration and examination of all persons engaged in prostitution and homosexual activity and who are in so-called "risk groups." This must be done without delay. The threat is too real.